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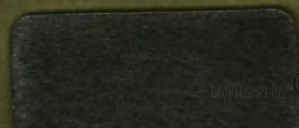
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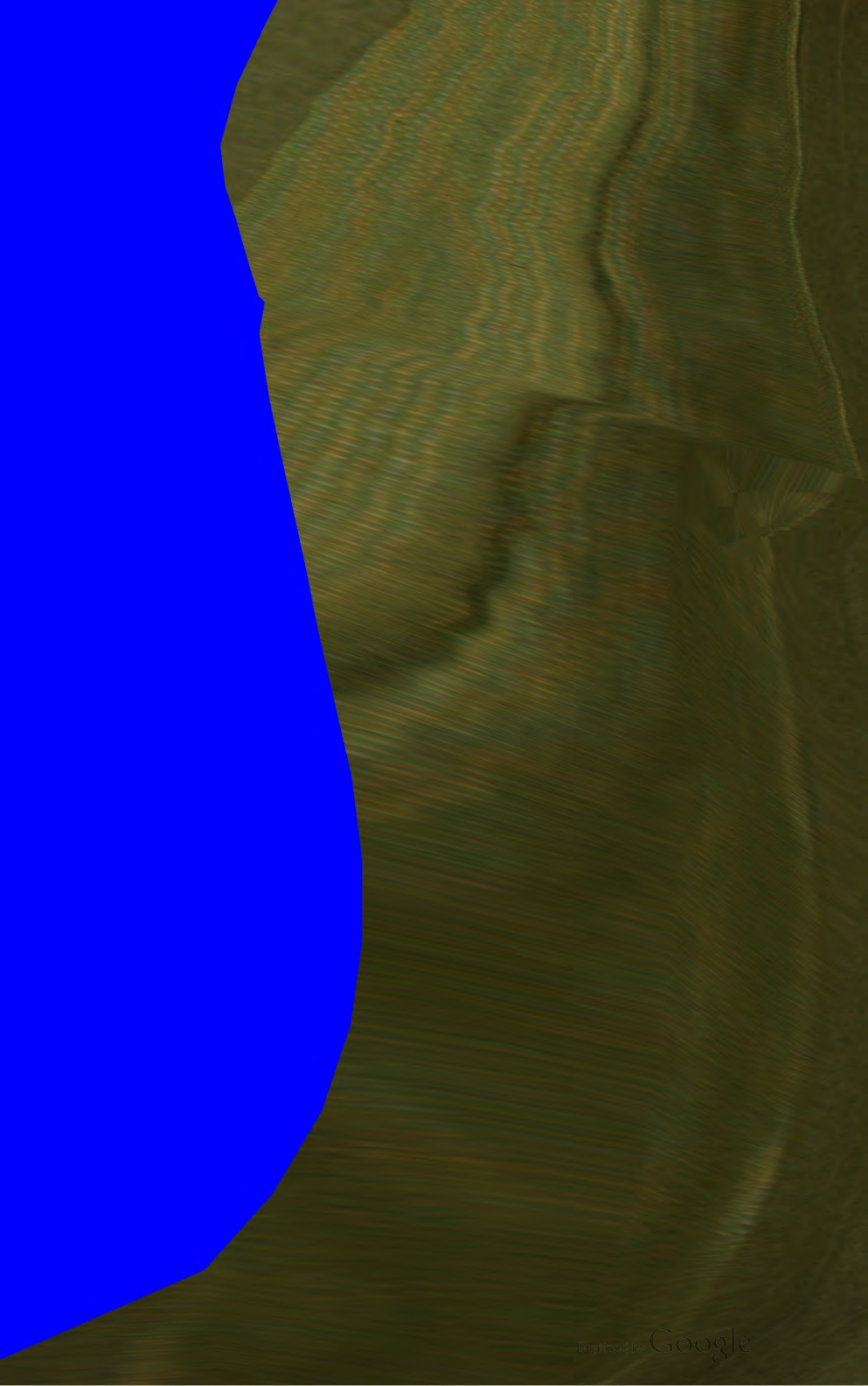
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# Archæologia Cantiana.

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"ANTIQUITIES, OR REMNANTS OF HISTORY, ARE, AS WAS SAID, TANQUAM TABULÆ NAUFRAGII ; WHEN INDUSTRIOUS PERSONS, BY AN EXACT AND SCRUPULOUS DILIGENCE AND OBSERVATION, OUT OF MONUMENTS, NAMES, WORDS, PROVERBS, TRADITIONS, PRIVATE RECORDS AND EVIDENCES, FRAGMENTS OF STORIES, PASSAGES OF BOOKS THAT CONCERN NOT STORY, AND THE LIKE, DO SAVE AND RECOVER SOMEWHAT FROM THE DELUGE OF TIME."—*Advancement of Learning*, ii.



# Archæologia Cantiana :

BEING

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1. The Society shall consist of Ordinary Members and Honorary Members.

2. The affairs of the Society shall be conducted by a Council consisting of the President of the Society, the Vice-Presidents, the Honorary Secretaries, and twenty-four Members elected out of the general body of the Subscribers: one fourth of the latter shall go out annually by rotation, but shall nevertheless be re-eligible; and such retiring and the new election shall take place at the Annual General Meeting: but any intermediate vacancy, by death or retirement, among the elected Council shall be filled up either at the General Meeting or at the next Council Meeting, whichever shall first happen. Five Members of the Council to constitute a quorum.

3. The Council shall meet to transact the business of the Society on the second Thursday in the months of March, June, September, and December, and at any other time that the Secretary may deem it expedient to call them together. The June Meeting shall always be held in London: those of March, September, and December, at Canterbury and Maidstone alternately. But the Council shall have power, if it shall deem advisable, at the instance of the President, to hold its meetings at other places within the county; and to alter the days of meeting, or to omit a quarterly meeting if it shall be found convenient.

4. At every Meeting of the Society or Council, the President, or, in his absence, the Chairman, shall have a casting vote, independently of his vote as a member.

5. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held annually, in July, August, or September, at some place rendered interesting by its antiquities or historical associations, in the eastern and western divisions of the county alternately: the day and place thereof to be appointed by the Council, who shall also have power, at the instance of the President, to elect some member of the Society, connected with the district in which the Meeting shall be held, to act as Chairman of such Meeting. At the said General Meeting, antiquities shall be exhibited, and papers read on subjects of archæological interest. The accounts of the Society, having been previously allowed by the Auditors, shall be presented; the Council, through the Secretary, shall make a Report on the state of the Society; and the Auditors and the six new Members of the Council for the ensuing year shall be elected.

6. The Annual General Meeting shall have power to make such alterations in the Rules as the majority of Members present may approve; provided that notice of any contemplated alterations be given, in writing, to one of the Honorary Secretaries, before the 1st June in the then current year, to be laid by him before the Council at their next Meeting; provided, also, that the said contemplated alterations be specifically set out in the notices summoning the Meeting, at least one month before the day appointed for it.

7. A Special General Meeting may be summoned, on the written requisition of seven Members, or of the President, or two Vice-Pres-



sidents, which must specify the subject intended to be brought forward at such Meeting; and such subject alone can then be considered.

8. Candidates for admission must be proposed by one Member of the Society, and seconded by another, and be balloted for, if required, at any Meeting of the Council, or at a General Meeting, one black ball in five to exclude.

9. Each Ordinary Member shall pay an Annual Subscription of Ten Shillings, due in advance on the 1st of January in each year; or £5 may at any time be paid in lieu of future subscriptions, as a composition for life. Any Ordinary Member shall pay, on election, an entrance fee of Ten Shillings, in addition to his Subscription, whether Annual or Life. Every Member shall be entitled to a copy of the Society's Publications; but none will be issued to any Member whose Subscription is in arrear. The Council may remove from the List of Subscribers the name of any Member whose Subscription is two years in arrear, if it be certified to them that a written application for payment has been made by one of the Secretaries, and not attended to within a month from the time of application.

10. All Subscriptions and Donations are to be paid to the Bankers of the Society, or to one of the Secretaries.

11. All Life Compositions shall be vested in Government Securities, in the names of four Trustees, to be elected by the Council. The interest only of such funds to be used for the ordinary purposes of the Society.

12. No cheque shall be drawn, except by order of the Council, and every cheque shall be signed by two Members of the Council, and one of the Honorary Secretaries.

13. The President and Secretary, on any vacancy, shall be elected by a General Meeting of the Subscribers.

14. Members of either House of Parliament, who are landed proprietors of the county or residents therein, shall, on becoming Members of the Society, be placed on the list of Vice-Presidents, and with them such other persons as the Society may elect to that office.

15. The Council shall have power to elect, without ballot, on the nomination of two Members, any lady who may be desirous of becoming a Member of the Society.

16. The Council shall have power to appoint as Honorary Member any person likely to promote the interests of the Society. Such Honorary Member not to pay any subscription, and not to have the right of voting at any Meetings of the Society; but to have all the other privileges of Members.

17. The Council shall have power to appoint any Member, Honorary Local Secretary, for the town or district wherein he may reside, in order to facilitate the collection of accurate information as to objects and discoveries of local interest, and for the receipt of subscriptions.

18. Meetings for the purpose of reading papers, the exhibition of antiquities, or the discussion of subjects connected therewith, shall be held at such times and places as the Council may appoint.

19. The Society shall avoid all subjects of religious or political controversy.

20. The Secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Society, to be communicated to the Members at the General Meetings.

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 Spurrell, Flaxman, Esq., F.R.C.S., *Belvedere, Erith.*  
 Spurrell, F. C. J., Esq., *Lessness Heath, Dartford.*  
 Stallwood, S. Slingsby, Esq., *Folkestone.*  
 Stanhope, The Earl, D.C.L., F.R.S., PRES. S.A., *Trustee of the British Museum, Chevening Place, Sevenoaks.*  
 Stanhope, The Hon. Edward, *Chevening, Sevenoaks.*  
 Stanton, Lieutenant-Colonel, *Woodlawn, Vanbrugh Park East, Blackheath, s.e.*  
 Stapleton, The Hon. and Rev. Sir Francis J. Bart., *Mereworth Rectory.*  
 Starling, R. J., Esq., *Tunbridge Wells.*  
 Steele, Stephen, Esq., *Strood.*  
 Stein, Charles, Esq., *Dover.*  
 Stephen, Edward, Esq., *Maidstone.*  
 Stephens, John Cribb, Esq., *Maidstone.*  
 Stephenson, Herbert, Esq., *Chatham.*

- Stevens, Rev. Henry, *Wateringbury Vicarage*.  
 Stevens, Rev. H. B., Vicar of St. Mary's, *Chatham*.  
 Stewart, Alexander J. R., Esq., 18, *Belgrave Square, s.w.*  
 Stilwell, James, Esq., *Dover*.  
 Stirling, Sir Walter, Bart., F.R.S., *Burr's Wood, Tunbridge Wells*.  
 Stone, Frank W., Esq., *Tunbridge Wells*.  
 Stone, Rev. W., Canon of Canterbury, *The Precincts, Canterbury*.  
 Stratford, John Wingfield, Esq., *Addington Place, Malling*.  
 Stratton, Rev. John Young, *Rectory, Ditton, Maidstone*.  
 Streatfeild, Mrs. Champion, *Chart's Edge, Edenbridge*.  
 Streatfeild, H. D., Esq., *Chiddingstone, Edenbridge*.  
 \*Streatfeild, J. Fremlyn, Esq., 15, *Upper Brook Street, Grosvenor Square, w.*  
 Streatfeild, Sidney R., Esq., 15, *Chester Terrace, Regent's Park, n.w.*  
 Streatfeild, Thomas E. Champion, Esq.  
 Streatfeild, Rev. William Champion, *Howick Rectory, Bilton, Northumberland*.  
 \*Stride, Edward Ernest, Esq., *British Museum, w.c.*  
 Stringer, Henry, Esq., *New Romney*.  
 \*Stroud, Rev. J., *Tunbridge*.  
 Stant, Walter, Esq., *The Grange, Gillingham*.  
 Stutfield, William, Esq.  
 Sumner, Rev. J. H. R.  
 Surtees, Frederick R., Esq., *Chart Sutton*.  
 Sydney, The Viscount, G.C.B., Lord Lieutenant, *Frognall, Chislehurst*.  
 Syme, Mr. William, *Rochester*.  
 Talbot, John Gilbert, Esq., M.P., *New Falconhurst, Edenbridge*.  
 Tanner, Edward Russell, Esq., *Maidstone*.  
 Tarbutt, Mr. W., *Cranbrook*.  
 Tarver, Rev. Charles F., Hon. Canon of Canterbury, *Stisted Rectory, Essex*.  
 Tasker, Henry, Esq., *Maidstone*.  
 Taswell, Rev. George, *Stonar Wood, Petersfield, Hants*.  
 Tayler, W. H., Esq., M.D., *Tudor House, Anerley, s.e.*  
 Taylor, Rev. Edward Stuart, *Chiddingstone*.  
 Taylor, R. C., Esq., *Boughton Place, Staplehurst*.  
 Teanby, Frederick William, Esq., F.R.C.S. and L.S.A., *The Grove, Gravesend*.  
 Temple, Rev. W., *Eastbridge Hospital, Canterbury*.  
 Thomas, Jesse, Esq., *Rochester*.  
 Thomas, Rev. J., D.C.L., Canon of Canterbury, *The Precincts, Canterbury*.  
 Thomas, R., Esq., *Eyborne House, Hollingbourne*.  
 Thompson, Lady, *Frant Rectory, Tunbridge Wells*.  
 Thompson, Robert, Esq., *Westerham, Edenbridge*.  
 Thomson, Richard Edward, Esq., *Kensfield, Canterbury*.  
 Thorpe, Benjamin Kelly, Esq., *Ashford*.  
 Thorpe, Rev. John Frederick, *The Vicarage, Hernhill, near Faversham*.  
 Thurston, Thomas, Esq., *Ashford*.  
 Tilleard, John, Esq., *Upper Tooting, s.w.*  
 Timins, Rev. J. H., *West Malling*.  
 Toke, Major, *Godinton Park, Ashford*.  
 Tomlin, F. A., Esq., *Sandwich*.  
 \*Tomlin, George T., Esq., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., *Combe House, Barton Fields, Canterbury*.  
 Tootell, Joseph, Esq., *Birlings, Thornham, Maidstone*.  
 Topping, Mrs., *Albion Place, Maidstone*.  
 Tuck, Everard T., Esq.  
 Tuck, George, Esq., *Windsor*.  
 Tuke, Rev. Francis E., *Borden Vicarage, Sittingbourne*.  
 Tull, Ebenezer, Esq., *Bath*.

- Turmaine, George, Esq., *Bank, Canterbury*.  
 Twigg, Rev. Robert, *Tilmanstone, Sandwich*.  
 \*Twisden, Thomas, Esq., F.S.A., *Bradbourn Park, East Malling*.  
 Twopeny, Rev. David, *Stockbury, Sittingbourne*.  
 Twopeny, Edward, Esq., *Woodstock Park, Sittingbourne*.  
 Tylden-Pattensen, Captain, *Biddenden*.  
 Tyrwhitt, Rev. Beauchamp St. John, M.A., *Upchurch Rectory, Sittingbourne*.  
 Tyssen, Francis Samuel Daniel, Esq., *Farleigh House, Sandgate*.  
 \*Tyssen, John Robert Daniel, Esq., F.S.A., *Lower Rock Gardens, Brighton*.  
 Umfreville, Samuel T., Esq., *Ingress Park, Greenhithe*.  
 Unwin, Henry, Esq.  
 Utting, R. B., Esq., 33, *Camden Road, N.W.*  
 Vallance, Rev. William, M.A., *Southchurch Rectory, Essex*.  
 Villiers, Rev. Henry Montagu, M.A., *Adisham Rectory, Wingham*.  
 Wadmore, James Foster, Esq., *Tunbridge*.  
 Waldo, E. Waldo Meade, Esq., *Stonewall Park, Chiddingstone*.  
 Walker, Henry Bachelor, Esq., *New Romney*.  
 Walker, William Dering, Esq., *Honychild Manor, New Romney*.  
 Wall, W. H., Esq., *Pembury, Tunbridge*.  
 Walter, John, Esq., *Borden, Sittingbourne*.  
 Walter, John Amherst, Esq., *Berengrave, Rainham*.  
 Walter, William, Esq., *Berengrave, Rainham*.  
 Walter, William, Esq., *East Farleigh*.  
 Warde, Lieutenant-Colonel, *Squerries Court, Westerham*.  
 Waters, Mr. Stephen, *Horsmonden*.  
 Wates, Edward, Esq., *Gravesend*.  
 Watson, John William, Esq., *The Larches, Shooter's Hill, S.E.*  
 Watson, Rev. J. S., *St. Gregory's, Canterbury*.  
 Watts, Rev. James, *Boughton Monchelsea, Maidstone*.  
 \*Way, Albert, Esq., F.S.A., *Wonham Manor, Reigate*.  
 Webster, Thomas, Esq., B.A., *Cranbrook*.  
 Welldon, Rev. J., D.D., *Tunbridge School*.  
 Welldon, Rev. Edward I., M.A., *Tunbridge*.  
 Wells, R., Esq., *Biddenden*.  
 Weston, Lambert, Esq., *Waterloo Crescent, Dover*.  
 Wetherall, Captain R., *Lansdown Road, Tunbridge Wells*.  
 Whatman, James, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A., *Vinters, Maidstone*.  
 Wheeler, Mr. Robert, *Brenchley*.  
 Wheeler, Rev. R. T., *Minster, Thanet*.  
 Wheelwright, J., Esq., *Meopham Court, Gravesend*.  
 Whiston, Rev. Robert, *The Palace, Rochester*.  
 White, Jennings, Esq., 8, *Whitehall Place, S.W.*  
 White, Rev. John, *St. Stephen's Vicarage, Canterbury*.  
 \*White, Thomas, Esq., *Wateringbury*.  
 \*White, Mrs. Thomas, *Wateringbury*.  
 \*White, Frederick Meadows, Esq., *Paper Buildings, Temple, E.C.*  
 White, J. Baker, Esq., *Street End House, Canterbury*.  
 White, John Bazley, Esq., *Hallcot, Beasley, S.E.*  
 Whitehead, Arthur, Esq., *Minster, Wimborne, Gloucestershire*.  
 Whitehead, John, Esq., *Barnjet, Maidstone*.  
 Whitehead, Thomas, Esq., *Ramsgate*.  
 Whitehead, Thomas Miller, Esq., 8, *Duke Street, St. James's, London, S.W.*  
 \*Whitehead, Charles, Esq., *Barming House, Maidstone*.  
 Whitelock, Rev. B., *Groombridge*.

- Whitmore, William, Esq., *Beckenham*.  
 Whittaker, Charles Gustavus, Esq., *Barming*.  
 Whittle, John, Esq., *Star Hill, Rochester*.  
 Wickes, Henry W., Esq., *Pixfield, Bromley*.  
 Wickham, George, Esq., *Maidstone*.  
 Wickham, Humphrey, Esq., *Strood*.  
 Wickham, Miss, *Delce Farm, Rochester*.  
 Wigan, Rev. Alfred, M.A., *Luddesdown Rectory, Gravesend*.  
 Wigan, Frederick, Esq., *Hibernia Chambers, London Bridge, S.E.*  
 Wigan, Miss.  
 \*Wigan, James, Esq., *Cromwell House, Mortlake, Surrey, S.W.*  
 Wigan, L. D., Esq., *Rock House, Maidstone*.  
 Wigan, Rev. W. L., M.A., *East Malling*.  
 Wightwick, T. N., Esq., *Canterbury*.  
 Wild, Miss, 3, *Montague Terrace, Tunbridge Wells*.  
 Wild, Thomas M., Esq., *Tunbridge Wells*.  
 Wildash, H. C., Esq., M.D., *Hythe*.  
 Wildes, Henry Dudlow, Esq., *West Malling*.  
 Wilkie, E. C. H., Esq., *Ellington, Ramsgate*.  
 \*Wilkinson, F. Eachus, Esq., M.D., etc., *Battle Cottage, Sydenham, S.E.*  
 Wilks, G., Esq., *Hythe*.  
 \*Williams, Captain Bigoe, *Dover*.  
 Williams, E. W., Esq., *Bromley*.  
 Williams, Stanley, Esq., *Penshurst*.  
 Williams, Mrs., *Penshurst*.  
 Williamson, Rev. Joseph, *Sellinge, Hythe*.  
 Wilmot, J. B., Esq., M.D., *Tunbridge Wells*.  
 \*Wilson, Cornelius Lea, Esq., *Beckenham*.  
 Wilson, Joshua, Esq., *Tunbridge Wells*.  
 Wilson, R. P., Esq., 5, *Cumberland Terrace, Regent's Park., N.W.*  
 \*Wilson, Samuel, Esq., *Beckenham, S.E.*  
 Winch, Charles, Esq., *Chatham*.  
 Winch, Mrs., *Chatham*.  
 Winham, Rev. Daniel, *The Parsonage, Eridge Green, Tunbridge Wells*.  
 Wodehouse, Rev. Walker, *Elham Vicarage, Canterbury*.  
 Wood, Humphrey, Esq., *Chatham*.  
 Wood, John, Esq., *Chatham*.  
 Wood, J. Lambert, Esq., *Bury Place House, near Gosport*.  
 Woodruff, C. H., Esq., *Hampden House, Upper Deal*.  
 Woods, Sir Albert, F.S.A., Garter King at Arms, *College of Arms, Doctors' Commons, E.C.*  
 Wray, Leonard, Esq., *Ramsgate*.  
 Wrench, Rev. Frederick, M.A., *Stowting Rectory, Hythe*.  
 Wykeham-Martin, Philip, Esq., M.P., *Leeds Castle, Maidstone*.  
 Yardley, Sir William, *Hadlow Park, Tunbridge*.  
 Yates, William, Esq., *Nevill Park, Tunbridge Wells*.  
 Yelverton, Hon. William, *Whitlands Abbey, Carmarthenshire*.  
 Young, Thomas, Esq., *Crescent Grove, Camberwell, S.E.*  
 \*Young, John, Esq., F.S.A., *Vanbrugh Fields, Blackheath, S.E.*

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\*.\* Should any errors, omissions of honorary distinctions, etc., be found in this List, it is requested that notice thereof may be given to the Assistant Secretary.

## CONTRIBUTIONS

*To the Fund for supplying Illustrations to the Society's Volumes, etc.*

| £ s. d.                  |   |   |   |        | £ s. d.                  |   |   |   |        |
|--------------------------|---|---|---|--------|--------------------------|---|---|---|--------|
| Angell, C. F., Esq.      | . | . | Δ | 0 10 0 | Hawkins, Rev. Dr.        | . | . | Δ | 0 10 0 |
| Beattie, A., Esq.        | . | . | Δ | 0 5 0  | Hussey, H. L., Esq.      | . | . | Δ | 0 11 0 |
| Blencowe, R. W., Esq.    | . | . | Δ | 0 3 0  | Hussey, R. C., Esq.      | . | . | Δ | 0 6 6  |
| Blore, Edward, Esq.      | . | . | Δ | 0 10 0 | James, Sir Walter, Bart. | . | . | Δ | 0 10 0 |
| Brent, J., Esq.          | . | . | Δ | 0 10 0 | Jay, J. L., Esq.         | . | . | Δ | 0 10 0 |
| Cobbett, J. M., Esq.     | . | . | Δ | 0 10 0 | Kadwell, Mr. C.          | . | . | Δ | 0 3 0  |
| Drake, Rev. B.           | . | . | Δ | 1 0 0  | Knill, Stuart, Esq.      | . | . | Δ | 1 0 0  |
| Farnall, Lieut.-Colonel  | . | . | Δ | 0 10 0 | Larking, J. W., Esq.     | . | . | Δ | 0 10 0 |
| Ffinch, M. S., Esq.*     | . | . | Δ | 0 10 0 | Lightfoot, W. J., Esq.   | . | . | Δ | 0 10 0 |
| Godefroy, S. D., Esq.    | . | . | Δ | 0 5 0  | Luard-Selby, Major       | . | . | Δ | 0 10 0 |
| Godfrey-Faussett, T. G., |   |   |   |        | Onslow, Rev. M.          | . | . | Δ | 0 10 0 |
| Esq.                     | . | . | Δ | 1 0 0  | Rugg, R., Esq.           | . | . | Δ | 0 5 0  |
| Golding, Mr. C.          | . | . | Δ | 0 10 0 | Rye, W. B., Esq.         | . | . | Δ | 0 10 0 |
| Gore, Frederick, Esq.    | . | . | Δ | 0 5 0  | Smallfield, Mr.          | . | . | Δ | 0 10 0 |
| Hardinge, The Viscount   | . | . | Δ | 0 10 0 | Smith, George, Esq.      | . | . | Δ | 0 11 0 |
| Hardy, Rt. Honble G.     | . | . | Δ | 0 10 0 | Twopeny, E., Esq.        | . | . | Δ | 0 5 0  |

\* Donations for particular objects.

Members willing to contribute to this Fund are requested to signify their intention to one of the Honorary Secretaries, or to the London Local Secretary.



# KENT ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

*Balance-Sheet of Accounts from January 1st to December 31st, 1868.*

|                                                                 |     | Dr. |       | Cr.     |       |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-----|-------|---------|-------|
|                                                                 |     | £.  | s. d. | £.      | s. d. |
| <b>Dr.</b>                                                      |     |     |       |         |       |
| 1868.                                                           |     |     |       |         |       |
| Balance in hand, Dec. 31, 1867 :—                               |     |     |       |         |       |
| Messrs. Randall and Co. . . . .                                 | 242 | 11  | 1     |         |       |
| Messrs. Hammond and Co. . . . .                                 | 173 | 8   | 3     |         |       |
|                                                                 |     | 415 | 19    | 4       |       |
| Dividends on Stock, one year . . . . .                          |     |     | 12    | 5       | 10    |
| Subscriptions, Life Compositions, Contributions to Illustration |     |     | 248   | 3       | 0     |
| Fund, Payments for Royal 8vo, etc. . . . .                      |     |     |       |         |       |
| <hr/>                                                           |     |     |       |         |       |
| <b>1868.</b>                                                    |     |     |       |         |       |
| Assistant Secretary :—                                          |     |     |       |         |       |
| Salary, three quarters . . . . .                                |     |     | 18    | 15      | 0     |
| Postage, small bills, etc. . . . .                              |     |     | 5     | 4       | 10    |
|                                                                 |     |     |       | 23      | 19    |
| Paid the Printer, for tickets, circulars, etc. . . . .          |     |     |       | 10      | 6     |
| Part cost of furnishing rooms at Maidstone . . . . .            |     |     |       | 24      | 13    |
| Paid the Honorary Secretary for excavations in the Bifrons      |     |     |       | 46      | 11    |
| Cemetery, and petty cash . . . . .                              |     |     |       | 2       |       |
| Further cost of Arch. Cant. Vol. VII. . . . .                   |     |     |       | 41      | 10    |
| Lithographer . . . . .                                          |     |     | 37    | 9       | 6     |
| Wood Engraver . . . . .                                         |     |     | 114   | 11      | 0     |
|                                                                 |     |     |       | 152     | 0     |
| Balance in hand, Dec. 31, 1868 :—                               |     |     |       |         |       |
| Messrs. Randall and Co. . . . .                                 |     |     | 200   | 17      | 11    |
| Messrs. Hammond and Co. . . . .                                 |     |     | 186   | 15      | 3     |
|                                                                 |     |     |       | 387     | 13    |
|                                                                 |     |     |       | <hr/>   |       |
|                                                                 |     |     |       | 676 8 2 |       |
|                                                                 |     |     |       | <hr/>   |       |

Audited and allowed,  
JOSEPH JACKSON HOWARD, } *Auditors.*  
GEORGE T. TOMLIN, }

# KENT ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

*Balance-Sheet of Accounts from January 1st to December 31st, 1869.*

| <i>Dr.</i>                                                      |  | <i>£. s. d.</i> |  |  | <i>Cr.</i> |        |       |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|--|-----------------|--|--|------------|--------|-------|
| 1869.                                                           |  |                 |  |  |            |        |       |
| Balance in hand, Dec. 31, 1868 :—                               |  |                 |  |  |            |        |       |
| Messrs. Randall and Co. . . . .                                 |  |                 |  |  |            | 200    | 17 11 |
| Messrs. Hammond and Co. . . . .                                 |  |                 |  |  |            | 186    | 15 8  |
|                                                                 |  |                 |  |  |            | 387    | 13 2  |
| Dividends on Stock, one year . . . . .                          |  |                 |  |  |            | 12     | 6 4   |
| Subscriptions, Life Compositions, Contributions to Illustration |  |                 |  |  |            |        |       |
| Fund, Payments for Royal 8vo. etc. . . . .                      |  |                 |  |  |            | 617    | 5 0   |
|                                                                 |  |                 |  |  |            |        |       |
| 1869.                                                           |  |                 |  |  |            |        |       |
| Assistant Secretary :—                                          |  |                 |  |  |            |        |       |
| Salary, five quarters . . . . .                                 |  |                 |  |  |            | 31     | 5 0   |
| Postage, small bills, etc. . . . .                              |  |                 |  |  |            | 21     | 11 2  |
|                                                                 |  |                 |  |  |            | 53     | 16 2  |
| Keeper of Rooms, one year . . . . .                             |  |                 |  |  |            | 10     | 0 0   |
| Paid for Books and Bookbinding . . . . .                        |  |                 |  |  |            | 21     | 1 3   |
| Further cost of furnishing Rooms . . . . .                      |  |                 |  |  |            | 57     | 2 5   |
| Purchase of Antiquities . . . . .                               |  |                 |  |  |            | 143    | 10 0  |
| Expenses of General Meeting at Malling . . . . .                |  |                 |  |  |            | 27     | 13 6  |
| Carpenters at General Meeting, 1868 . . . . .                   |  |                 |  |  |            | 7      | 18 9  |
| Honorary Secretary, petty cash, and expenses . . . . .          |  |                 |  |  |            | 41     | 10 0  |
| Canterbury Local Secretary, ditto . . . . .                     |  |                 |  |  |            | 3      | 8 6   |
| Further cost of Arch. Cant. Vol. VII. :—                        |  |                 |  |  |            |        |       |
| Printer . . . . .                                               |  |                 |  |  |            | 313    | 13 9  |
| Lithographer . . . . .                                          |  |                 |  |  |            | 45     | 1 0   |
| Index . . . . .                                                 |  |                 |  |  |            | 5      | 5 0   |
|                                                                 |  |                 |  |  |            | 363    | 19 9  |
| Cheque book . . . . .                                           |  |                 |  |  |            | 0      | 4 0   |
| Balance in hand, Dec. 31, 1869 :—                               |  |                 |  |  |            |        |       |
| Messrs. Randall and Co. . . . .                                 |  |                 |  |  |            | 232    | 13 5  |
| Messrs. Hammond and Co. . . . .                                 |  |                 |  |  |            | 50     | 6 9   |
|                                                                 |  |                 |  |  |            | 283    | 0 2   |
|                                                                 |  |                 |  |  |            | £1,017 | 4 6   |

# KENT ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

*Balance-Sheet of Accounts from January 1st to December 31st, 1870.*

| <i>Dr.</i>                                                       |                  | <i>Cr.</i>                                                    |                  |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|
| 1870.                                                            | £. s. d.         | 1870.                                                         | £. s. d.         |
| Balance in hand, Dec. 31, 1869 :—                                |                  | Assistant Secretary :—                                        |                  |
| Messrs. Randall and Co. . . . .                                  | 232 13 5         | Salary, one year. . . . .                                     | 40 0 0           |
| Messrs. Hammond and Co. . . . .                                  | 50 6 9           | Postage, small bills, etc. . . . .                            | 19 17 0          |
|                                                                  | <u>283 0 2</u>   |                                                               | <u>59 17 0</u>   |
| Dividends on Stock, one year . . . . .                           | 12 7 4           | Keeper of Rooms, four quarters and a half                     | 11 7 0           |
| Subscriptions, Life Contributions, Contributions to Illustration |                  | Purchase of stock of Royal quarto Vols. of Arch. Cant. from   |                  |
| Fund, Payments for Royal 8vo, etc. . . . .                       | 277 6 0          | Rev. L. B. Larking . . . . .                                  | 69 16 0          |
|                                                                  |                  | Printer and Lithographer for Tickets, Circulars, etc. . . . . | 23 15 9          |
|                                                                  |                  | Expenses of excavating Roman Villa near Maidstone . . . . .   | 5 13 4           |
|                                                                  |                  | Purchase of MSS. . . . .                                      | 11 17 0          |
|                                                                  |                  | Paid Carpenters more for Canterbury meeting . . . . .         | 1 12 6           |
|                                                                  |                  | Paid balance for Tent at Dartford meeting . . . . .           | 5 0 0            |
|                                                                  |                  | Wood Engraver . . . . .                                       | 2 0 0            |
|                                                                  |                  | Honorary Secretary, petty cash expenses . . . . .             | 27 0 0           |
|                                                                  |                  | Balance in hand, Dec. 31, 1870 :—                             |                  |
|                                                                  |                  | Messrs. Wigan and Co. . . . .                                 | 299 6 5          |
|                                                                  |                  | Messrs. Hammond and Co. . . . .                               | 55 8 6           |
|                                                                  |                  |                                                               | <u>354 14 11</u> |
|                                                                  | <u>£572 13 6</u> |                                                               | <u>£572 13 6</u> |

Audited and allowed,

RICHARD CHAS. HUSSEY, }  
GEORGE T. TOMLIN, } *Auditors.*

*Balances-Sheet of Accounts from January 1st to December 31st, 1871.*

Audited and allowed,  
 RICHARD CHAS. HUSSEY, }  
 GEORGE T. TOMLIN, } *Auditors.*

The

# Kent Archæological Society.

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## ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS.

A MEETING of the Council was held on April 24, 1868, at the house of the Honorary Secretary in the Precincts, Canterbury.

A Local Committee was appointed to arrange the General Meeting at Canterbury.

The sum of £5 was granted towards a scheme for cataloguing, arranging, and reporting on the documents of the Corporation at Hythe, the scheme to be arranged between Mr. Mackeson and the Honorary Secretary.

The Honorary Secretary reported the close of his excavations in the Saxon cemetery at Bifrons, where he had been kindly assisted by the Rev. H. M. Villiers and Mr. J. Brent; about 250 graves in all having been opened either by himself or by men at work for the Marquis Conyngham. Many of the specimens found were exhibited to the Council.

Sixteen new members were elected, and one Honorary Member,—the Rev. Thomas Hugo, F.S.A.

THE NEXT Meeting was at the house of the noble President in Grosvenor Square, on June 11.

It was agreed that the General Meeting at Canterbury should be held on Thursday and Friday, the 30th and 31st of July.

Two new members were elected.

THE GENERAL MEETING for the year 1868 was held at Canterbury on the 30th and 31st of July, there being present,—

The Earl Amherst, President; Lord Fitzwalter; Sir Walter James, Bart.; Sir Walter Stirling, Bart.; S. M. Hilton, Esq., High Sheriff, and Mrs. Hilton; J. G. Talbot, Esq., and the Hon. Mrs. Talbot; C. Wykeham Martin, Esq., M.P.; the Dean of Canterbury and Mrs. Alford; Sir Charles Wingfield, Bart.; G. W. Norman, Esq.; Mrs. and Miss Norman; G. Dering, Esq., and Mrs. Dering; Archdeacon Harrison and Mrs. Harrison; C. Powell, Esq.; Major-General McQueen and Mrs. McQueen; Rev. Canon Stone and Miss Stone; Rev. Canon Robertson, Mrs. and Miss Robertson; Rev. Canon Blakesley and Mrs. Blakesley; Rev. J. Hughes-Hallett, Mrs. and Miss Hughes-Hallett; Rev. H. Godfrey Faussett; Rev. Professor Willis and Mrs. Willis; C. Knight Watson, Esq., Sec. S.A., and Mrs. Watson; Rev. H. M. Villiers; G. T. Tomlin, Esq., and Mrs. Tomlin; B. C. Hussey, Esq.; J. Brent, Esq.; J. Kirkpatrick, Esq.; the Honorary Secretary, and about four hundred others.

The Business Meeting was held in the Cathedral Library lately completed, which was kindly lent for the purpose by the Dean and Chapter. The President having taken the chair, called for the Report, which was read as follows :—

In delivering at Canterbury the eleventh annual Report of our Archæological Society we seem to have completed a cycle of ten years, and to have returned to the place from which we set out.

Our first annual meeting was held here on this very day in 1858, when we numbered about 500 members, and were feeling our way for existence. The success of that first meeting confirmed all our hopes, and started us in a course of prosperity and increase which still continues.

Since that time we have issued six volumes, which we believe may compete in value, interest, and general excellence with any similar publications in England. Our members have increased to nearly 1,100. Our funds have further been usefully employed in opening two very considerable Saxon Cemeteries and parts of others, and in discovering and preserving antiquities of various kinds throughout the county. By the kindness of friends and our own exertions we have collected at Maidstone a very valuable museum, illustrative of every period of Kentish history. And we believe we may say that we have very sensibly contributed to that spirit of interest in and reverence for the past which is everywhere, and not least in Kent,

showing itself in preservation of churches and other monuments, and in increased historical research and accuracy.

We have agreed with the Trustees of the Charles Museum at Maidstone for the hire of separate rooms at Chillington House, at a rent of £20 a year. We are now in possession of these rooms, and our valuable collection, increased as it has been this year, is in course of being disposed in them in a manner available for the inspection and study of our members.

We have to lament the loss during the past year of Sir Norton Knatchbull and some other valued members of our Society. On the other hand we hail the accession to our ranks of about 50 new members, more than the usual proportion of whom are eminent in the world of science. Several more are waiting to be elected to-day.

Our seventh volume has been unusually and unfortunately delayed. The Council, however, feel justified in saying that it will form the richest and most interesting of our series, and in hoping that a delay caused by the very value and elaborateness of the work will not be ultimately regretted by the Society. A foretaste of the treasures contained in one of its principal papers has been most kindly offered to us to-day, and this our eleventh meeting will be remarkable in our annals for the valued assistance of Professor Willis.

The opening of the Saxon burial-ground at Bifrons, kindly permitted to the Society by Lord Conyngham, has been completed. Your Secretary, with the assistance of two other honoured members, has explored 107 graves, Lord Conyngham at the same time opening for himself about as many more, and these, with the few discovered at first, appearing to complete the cemetery. The proceeds have been even more than usually interesting. Many of the specimens found are exhibited here to-day.

In conclusion we would only urge upon you that ours is a co-operative Society, and that its welfare and usefulness depend very mainly for their continuance upon the union of all its members in promoting and fostering it.

It was resolved, due notice having been given, to add the following words to Rule 3,—

“—and to alter the days of meeting, or to omit a quarterly meeting if it shall be found convenient.”

The two Auditors and the six retiring members of Council were re-elected.

Eleven new members were elected.

The Chairman then introduced to the meeting the Rev. Professor Willis, who proceeded to give a lecture of great interest and value on the remains of the Benedictine monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury, afterwards conducting the party over the more interesting spots, and concluding his remarks on each *in situ*. His lecture, in an enlarged form, is in our Seventh Volume.

Dinner was at four o'clock in the Music Hall, the noble President in the chair. After which the company, by kind invitation of the Dean, were entertained at a musical *soirée* in the Deanery Garden.

A smaller party afterwards visited the interior of the Cathedral by moonlight, and while lingering in the nave enjoyed the unexpected effect of music issuing from the Choir, which those who heard it will not soon forget.

ON THE second day the party assembled at St. Augustine's College, where they were kindly received by the Warden and Fellows. The Warden described the remains of the Abbey, and the present details of the College, and also conducted the company to St. Pancras' Church adjoining.

St. Martin's Church was next visited, and the Rêv. T. Hirst, the Vicar, recapitulated the well-known points of interest in its structure and history. Thence the party proceeded, under the guidance of J. Brent, Esq., to visit the Walls and the Donjon Mound, the Castle, the Poor Priests' Hospital, and the remains of the Grey Friars, ending at Eastbridge Hospital, where the Rev. W. Temple, the Master, described the points of interest.

The afternoon Cathedral Service being now over, the Dean conducted the company through the Cathedral, taking for his text the visit of Erasmus and Dean Colet, as described by the former in his '*Peregrinatio religionis ergo*,' and illustrating the condition of the Cathedral at that date in the most interesting manner.

The Cathedral Services throughout the two days were from the works of Kentish composers, an arrangement kindly made by the Precentor.

The temporary Museum was in the Cathedral Library, and was unusually rich.



THE THIRD Council Meeting for this year was held at the house of the Honorary Secretary in the Precincts, Canterbury, on the 25th of September, the Rev. Canon Robertson in the chair.

It was resolved that :

The Council of the Kent Archæological Society cannot hold their first meeting since the death of the Rev. Lambert Blackwell Larking without expressing and desiring to record their sincere grief at his loss, their deep sense of the void thus created in the Society, and the respect which they cherish for his memory. As the Founder of the Society, its Secretary during its first and most anxious years, and its foremost counsellor since his resignation of the secretaryship, Mr. Larking was so intimately connected with its closest interests that his removal cannot but be felt as no ordinary blow to its welfare. The Council will always remember with pleasure his constant kindness, and eagerness to assist with all his wonderful antiquarian lore, and are sure that his name and fame will never be forgotten in a Society whose very existence is a monument of his energy and learning, and to scarcely a member of which he had not endeared himself by some act of kindness.

The Council are desirous of expressing their deep sympathy with Mrs. Larking in her bereavement, and request that a copy of this Resolution be forwarded to her by the Secretary.

Thanks were voted to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, and to the Mayor and Corporation of Canterbury, for their assistance and hospitality at the late General Meeting ; to Professor Willis, for his invaluable lecture ; to the Dean of Canterbury, the Warden of St. Augustine's College, the Rev. T. Hirst, the Rev. E. Gilder, the Rev. W. Temple, and John Brent, Esq., for their assistance on the same occasion ; and to M. Bell, Esq., Godfrey T. Faussett, Esq., the Governors of the Kent and Canterbury Hospital, the Rev. E. Sandys-Lumsdaine, Mrs. Chesshyre, C. K. Watson, Esq., J. R. Scott, Esq., the Rev. A. Eden, the Rev. R. P. Coates, and others, for their contributions to the temporary Museum.

Three new members were elected.

THE FIRST Meeting of the Council for the year 1869 was held at Chillington House, Maidstone, on the 16th of April, the noble President in the chair.

It was resolved to hold the General Meeting this year at West Malling, and a Local Committee for the purpose was appointed.

Also to purchase seven Celtic Torques lately discovered near Maidstone.

J. F. Wadmore, Esq., was elected Honorary Local Secretary for the Tunbridge District, and G. T. Tomlin, Esq., for the Canterbury District, in the room of Major Luard-Selby and J. Brent, Esq.

And thanks were voted to these two retiring Secretaries for their services.

The Rev. H. M. Villiers was elected to the Council in the room of John Brent, Esq., resigned.

Hewett, servant at the Charles Museum, Maidstone, was appointed to take care of the Society's rooms there, at a yearly salary of £10.

Sixteen new members, including His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, were elected.

THE SECOND Council for this year was held on June 19, at the house of the President in Grosvenor Square, himself in the chair.

It was resolved that the days for the General Meeting at West Malling be Thursday and Friday, the 5th and 6th of August.

Twelve new members were elected.

THE GENERAL MEETING was held at West Malling on August 5 and 6, under the chairmanship of Sir Walter Stirling, Bart., in the unavoidable absence of the noble President. There were also present,—

The Countess Amherst; the Lady Augusta Mostyn; the Lady Caroline Nevill; the Hon. and Rev. E. Bligh and Lady Isabel Bligh; the Hon. and Rev. H. Bligh; the Hon. Ralph Nevill and Mrs. Nevill; E. Hussey, Esq., and the Hon. Mrs. Hussey; G. W. Norman, Esq., Mrs. and Miss Norman; Colonel Pinney, M.P.; J. Wingfield Larking, Esq.; Bertie P. Cator, Esq.; the Rev. J. J. Marsham; C. Roach Smith, Esq.; the Rev. C. Lane; R. C. Hussey, Esq.; the Rev. J. H. Timins; C. Powell, Esq.; Coles Child, Esq.; J. Fremlyn Streatfeild, Esq.; the Rev. A. Eden; the Rev. R. P.

Coates; the Honorary Secretary, and upwards of three hundred others.

The Business Meeting was held in the Assembly Rooms at 12 o'clock on the 5th, when G. Gilbert Scott, Esq., was elected an Honorary Member, in company with twenty-seven ordinary members.

The Auditors and the retiring members of the Council were re-elected, and the following Report was read:—

The Council has the pleasure of presenting to the Society its twelfth annual Report, now as always one of material advance and prosperity.

We must, however, give the first place in our retrospect to our losses,—heavy and irreparable, for among other valued members we have lost Archbishop Longley, always a firm and liberal friend to the Society, and also second in mention, but even foremost in our minds, the Rev. Lambert Larking.

We must all be desirous of expressing and recording our sincere grief at Mr. Larking's loss, our deep sense of the void thus made in the Society, and the respect which we cherish for his memory. Nor could this be more appropriately done than now, at our first meeting since his death, and here, at his birthplace and in the centre of the neighbourhood in which he spent his life. As the Founder of our Society, its Secretary during its first and most anxious years, and its foremost counsellor to the end of his days, Mr. Larking was so intimately connected with its closest interests that his removal cannot but be felt as no ordinary blow to its welfare. We shall always remember with pleasure and gratitude his constant kindness and eagerness to assist with all his wonderful antiquarian lore, and his name and fame will always be the pride of a Society whose very existence is a monument of his energy and learning, and to scarcely a member of which he had not endeared himself by some act of kindness peculiarly his own.

Forty-one new members have joined us in the year, and upwards of twenty more are awaiting election to-day.

The balance at our Bankers' is £295. 3s. 3d., in spite of the unusually large cost of our seventh volume, just defrayed, the special exertions of a few of our Local Secretaries having succeeded in bringing in a number of arrears. Arrears, however, still constitute a lamentable blot on our prosperity. The very smallness of our annual subscription renders it the more difficult to collect, and we would again urge those members who do not easily remember it to give an order to their bankers to pay it for them on the 1st of every

January. In thus saving trouble to themselves they will also be saving very great trouble and loss to the Society.

Our last meeting at Canterbury was even more than usually successful, and formed an apt prelude to the appearance of our seventh volume, both being very largely indebted for their excellence to the kindness and learning of Professor Willis, whose brief lecture and explanations at the meeting are expanded into a most elaborate and valuable paper in the volume. We believe that this is admitted on all sides to be the best of its series.

Part of our eighth volume is already in type, and we hope that it will not degenerate in interest even from its immediate predecessor.

Our new rooms at Chillington House have been appropriately fitted up, at a cost very considerably under the £150 calculated and allowed for the purpose, mainly by the exertions and good taste of our active Assistant Secretary. We can now, for the first time, exhibit our collections in a manner worthy of their great and growing importance. Several valuable additions to these, by the kindness of members or by purchase, have been made in the past year.

No very large excavations have been undertaken by the Society in the past year. Among those of minor importance may be mentioned one in the parish of Bekesbourne, which resulted in the discovery of five or six Roman Urns, with fragments of many others. These will be described in our next volume.

In conclusion, we would urge all our members to do their best, as opportunity occurs, towards the elucidation and preservation of the antiquities with which our historical county abounds, and to join in continuing our flourishing Society in its career of usefulness and success.

The company then proceeded to Mallington Abbey, kindly thrown open to the Society by Mrs. Akers, where the Rev. J. H. Timins acted as cicerone, and the Rev. C. Lane told a few legends of its monastic history.

West Mallington Church was next visited, many of the party stopping on the way to inspect the remains of a Norman dwelling-house near the junction of the two main streets of the town.

St. Leonard's Tower was then inspected, and afterwards Leybourne Church and Castle.

Dinner was at four o'clock in a tent in the grounds of Mallington House, by kind permission of the Hon. Ralph Nevill.

At the evening meeting at the Assembly Rooms, R. Surtees, Esq., delivered a lecture on the history and remains of the

Castle of Sutton Valence. The temporary Museum was good and interesting.

ON THE second day the party met at Aylesford, and inspected the Church, under the guidance of the Ven. Archdeacon Grant, as well as the interesting remains of the Friars; kindly opened to them by F. Russell, Esq.

Kits Coty House was next visited, and G. Bensted, Esq., guided the company to this and the other interesting stone monuments in the immediate neighbourhood.

The party next arrived at Boxley Abbey, where C. Balston, Esq., received them with great hospitality, and thence proceeded to inspect Boxley Church and the interesting remains of fifteenth-century houses in the village.

With an inspection of Allington Castle the day's excursion ended.

A smaller excursion, under the guidance of C. Roach Smith, Esq., was made, by way of Offham and its quintain, to the rude stone monuments in Addington Park and at Coldrum.

THE NEXT Meeting of the Council was held on October 8, at the house of the Honorary Secretary in the Precincts, Canterbury.

It was resolved that if possible the place of General Meeting for the succeeding year should always be fixed at the Autumn Council:

And that Sittingbourne be now agreed upon for the General Meeting of 1870, with an excursion into Shepey for the second day.

The salary of the Assistant Secretary was increased to £40 yearly, as from Michaelmas.

Thanks were voted to the Hon. R. Nevill, Mrs. Akers, Mrs. Savage, Sir Joseph Hawley, Bart., J. Wingfield Stratford, Esq., the Rev. E. Shepherd, F. Russell, Esq., and C. Balston, Esq. for reception and hospitality to the Society at the late General Meeting; to the Ven. Archdeacon Grant, the Rev. J. H. Timins, C. Roach Smith, Esq., the Rev. J. A. Boodle, E. Furley, Esq., H. D. Wildes, Esq., G. Bensted, Esq., R. Surtees, Esq., and the Rev. J. Y. Stratton for assistance and instruction during the meeting; and to the Earl of Abergavenny, Lady Augusta Mostyn, the Misses Twysden, the Dean of Can-

terbury, the Vicar and Churchwardens of West Malling, and others, for contributions to the temporary museum.

Six new members were elected.

THE FIRST Council for the year 1870 was held on April 11, at Chillington House, Maidstone; the noble President in the chair.

On the proposal of the President it was agreed to recommend to the next General Meeting to enact that for the future, at the instance of the President, some member connected with the district of any General Meeting may be elected to act as Chairman of such Meeting.

It was resolved that for the future Honorary Members be elected only for very especial claim upon the Society.

It was agreed to pay the account of the printers for all royal quarto copies of back volumes of our *Archæologia*, in spite of their agreement with the Rev. L. B. Larking (whose private account this originally was), that the printing of these should be paid for only as they were sold. Also, that for the future these should be paid for with the ordinary copies.

At the same time it was resolved that the number of such copies to be henceforth printed should be reduced from twenty-five to three more only than the number in demand at the date of issue, one such copy to be placed in the Society's Library.

James W. Hott, Esq., was elected Honorary Local Secretary for the Bromley District in the room of G. B. Latter, Esq., deceased.

Thanks were voted to G. E. Sayer, Esq., for permission to excavate the Roman villa found on his property near Maidstone; also to C. Roach Smith, Esq., W. H. Bensted, Esq., and Mr. J. Fauchon for help during the excavations.

Twenty-three new members were elected.

THE SECOND Meeting of the Council for this year was held on the 17th of June, at 43, Grosvenor Square, the house of the President, who occupied the chair.

The days for the General Meeting at Sittingbourne were fixed, viz. Wednesday and Thursday, August 3 and 4.

Three new members were elected.

THE GENERAL Meeting took place accordingly at Sittingbourne on the 3rd and 4th of August, under the Presidency of the Earl Amherst. There were also present,—

Lord Fitzwalter, Sir Walter Stirling, Bart., Sir John Croft, Bart., G. W. Norman, Esq., Mrs. and Miss Norman, C. Powell, Esq., Major-General McQueen, the Rev. J. Hughes-Hallett and Miss Hughes-Hallett, Lieut.-Col. Jenkins and Mrs. Jenkins, the Rev. Canon Robertson, Mrs. and Miss Robertson, the Rev. G. B. Moore, Mrs. and the Misses Moore, the Rev. A. Eden, the Rev. W. A. Scott Robertson, the Rev. F. E. Tuke, the Rev. A. J. Pearman and Mrs. Pearman, Mrs. and Miss Riddell, the Rev. F. Haslewood, the Honorary Secretary, and about two hundred others.

The Business Meeting was held, by kind permission, in the rooms of the Sittingbourne Literary and Scientific Institute, at which the following Report was read:—

The Thirteenth Annual Report of the Council of this Society, though perhaps less full of incident than some of former years, is as satisfactory as to the prosperity of the Society as any previous one.

The balance at our Bankers' is £298. 12s., to which will be added, when necessary, about £100. more, to be drawn from our invested funds (as agreed), for the cost of furnishing our rooms at Maidstone. These expenses have hitherto been paid from our income, and will be repaid in this manner as soon as it becomes desirable.

Fifty-seven new members have joined us during the year, and several more are now awaiting election. The value of our volumes, the popularity of our meetings, and the patriotism of men of Kent, combine in more than filling the gaps caused in our ranks by departures or death.

Of these latter we lament not a few, and would specially mention Sir Thomas Wilson, Mr. Bland of Hartlip, the donor of our collection known as the Bland collection, Mr. Randall of Maidstone, Mr. Latter, our late Local Secretary for Bromley, and, in the last few days, Mr. Foss, the eminent Biographer of the Judges, and, from the beginning, one of our most active members and contributors. We were also honoured by claiming as a member Sir Charles Young, late Garter King at Arms, whose loss to our special science will long be felt elsewhere than in Kent.

The funds of this Society have been well spent in the purchase of some British torques or armlets found near Maidstone, which form a valuable and interesting addition to our Museum.

The Society exerted its influence in the endeavour to save the fine old house with pargetted front in the High Street of Maidstone, known as Astley House. That this effort was in vain is matter of regret to all lovers of a style of building of which few better specimens remain in the country.

With kind permission of Mr. Sayer, of Pett Place, the foundations of a Roman villa, found on his property near Maidstone, have been laid open by the energy of our Assistant Secretary, who will be glad to show them to members. A description of the discoveries will be given in our *Archæologia*.

The eighth volume of this series is now in a forward state towards publication. It bids fair to be a very valuable one, and will, we believe, be found equal to its predecessors.

An addition to our fifth Rule will be proposed to you to-day on behalf of the Council, empowering them, at the instance of the President, to appoint a Local Chairman at these our Annual Meetings when it shall seem advisable, as is the practice in the *Archæological Institute* and other similar Societies. It is felt that such a power may, on desirable occasions, prove to be a convenience both to the President and to the Society.

In selecting Sittingbourne as our meeting-place for this year, the Council were aware that the neighbourhood is more interesting in history than in remains strikingly illustrative of history; much, however, of value is to be found and learnt here, and it is believed that the excursion into Shepey will be looked upon as an opportunity for visiting what is unknown land to most of our members.

This Report must not be closed without again urging greater punctuality in payment of subscriptions,—an improvement which would add very much to the efficiency and prosperity of the Society.

G. T. Tomlin, Esq., was re-elected Auditor, and R. C. Hussey, Esq., was elected his colleague, in the room of J. J. Howard, Esq., who retired.

Of the six retiring members of the Council, four were re-elected; the Rev. W. A. Scott Robertson, J. S. Burra, Esq., and J. Board, Esq., being elected in place of the Rev. B. Poste and the Rev. F. Wrench, retiring, and of E. Foss, Esq., deceased.

Eleven new members were elected.

The Meeting then separated for the day's excursion, the whole of which was under the guidance of the Rev. W. A. Scott Robertson, who illustrated to the company each subject in turn. These were:—



The Parish Church of St. Michael, Sittingbourne.

Bayford Castle, consisting of earthworks traditionally said to be a camp of Alfred; here the Rev. A. J. Pearman added some observations.

Bapchild Church with its fine Norman work.

Tong Castle and Church, the former interesting from its traditions of Hengist; and

Murston Church with its ancient tithe-barn.

Dinner was at five o'clock in the Corn Exchange, and the evening Meeting took place at the Literary Institute, where a small but interesting local museum was arranged. The Rev. A. J. Pearman read a paper on the History of Bayford Castle, and the Rev. F. G. Haslewood exhibited and discussed some tracings of fresco painting lately brought to light in Smarden Church.

ON THE second day the party met at the Sittingbourne Station, and went by special train to Queenborough, in the Isle of Shepey, the Castle of which, now mounds and earthworks only, was inspected, and the Rev. R. Bingham read a paper on its history.

Carriages then conveyed the company to Minster, stopping on the way, under the guidance of Mr. Turmine, to inspect some of the large mounds, formerly called "cottesells," so common in the marshland here. It was generally agreed that they must have been constructed as refuges for cattle in floods.

At Minster the Rev. Dr. Willis welcomed the party in the very interesting Church; the gate-house and a few more slight remains of St. Sexburga's Nunnery were also inspected. At Eastchurch, which was next reached, the Rev. W. A. Scott Robertson pointed out the remarkable parts of the architecture and history of the Church.

The excursion reached its farthest point at Shurland Castle, where a paper on its history, written by the Rev. R. C. Jenkins, was, in the absence of its author, read to the Meeting by the Rev. A. J. Pearman.

THE THIRD Meeting of the Council for this year was held on Oct. 21, at the house of the Honorary Secretary, in the Precincts, Canterbury.

It was agreed that Sevenoaks should be the place of General

Meeting for 1871, if Lord Buckhurst's convenience would allow of the Society's admission to Knole.

Also that the Society should subscribe for a copy of the new History of Kent now projected on the basis of the Streatfeild and Larking collections, and that any wood-blocks of the Society which may be useful in illustrating the work, be lent for that purpose by the Council.

Thanks were voted to the Rev. G. B. Moore, G. Payne, Esq., jun., the Rev. W. A. Scott Robertson, Dr. Grayling, the Rev. A. J. Pearman, and Mr. Turmine, for valuable assistance during the late General Meeting; and to the Rev. J. Buckner, the Rev. J. S. Hoare, the Rev. R. Dickson, Mrs. Pratt, the Rev. R. Bingham, Mr. Bennett, and the Rev. Dr. Willis, for reception and hospitality on the same occasion.

Four new members were elected.





# Archæologia Cantiana.

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## ACCOUNT OF THE SOCIETY'S RESEARCHES IN THE ROMAN CASTRUM AT RICHBOROUGH.

BY G. DOWKER, ESQ., F.G.S.

BEFORE describing the excavations undertaken by the Society, let me refer briefly to those made by previous explorers, especially of the remarkable subterranean building in the centre of the Castrum, to which our own efforts were principally directed.

It was known to our earlier topographers that within these walls existed a low cruciform structure, commonly called "St. Augustine's Cross;"<sup>1</sup> and most probably too that this cross rested on a subterraneous platform of masonry. But we have no intelligible description of either cross or platform till that of Mr. Boys, the historian of Sandwich, who made researches here in 1792. He laid bare part of the platform and measured it, finding its length to be  $144\frac{1}{2}$  feet, its breadth 104 feet, and its depth 5 feet; and that it was "a composition of boulders and coarse mortar, the whole upper surface to the very verge covered over with a coat of the same sort of mortar six inches thick." He also dug round the cross and discovered its dimensions; but was not, it

<sup>1</sup> [See Stukeley's *Itin. Curios.*, where is perhaps the earliest engraving of it, from a sketch made in 1722, tab. 97. But he apparently knew nothing of the platform below.]

would appear, aware of any structure existing still deeper, below the platform itself.<sup>1</sup>

In 1826 Mr. Gleig and others made excavations, resulting in the discovery of a certain cave, supposed to be that which Leland had seen in the reign of Henry VIII.<sup>2</sup> They too were the first to dig beneath the platform, which they did at its N.E. corner (D), finding the mass of masonry below it which has puzzled antiquaries ever since. Down the perpendicular side of this they sank a shaft, to the depth of twenty-two feet from the surface, without reaching the bottom, when the water came in and compelled them to discontinue the work.

These excavators raised much public curiosity as to the meaning of this extraordinary structure, till, towards determining the point, Mr. Rolfe of Sandwich, in September, 1843, made further researches. He commenced by sinking a shaft near the end of the eastern side (AD) of the platform, at G, and, excavating beneath it, found a low, narrow passage in the soil running under it, close to the perpendicular side of the lower masonry, which is overhung by the platform to the extent of several feet. In this passage, which was in some places eighteen inches and in others three feet in height, he found human and other bones, and scattered fragments of Roman pottery. With a view of discovering an entrance into the masonry, he deepened and enlarged this passage, which had extended to its N.E. corner (d), and continued a similar passage round its N. and part of its W. side, still, as before, beneath the overhanging platform, which he used as a ceiling. Finding nothing but

<sup>1</sup> Boys's Hist. of Sandwich, pp. 866 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> "Withyn the Castel is a lytle Paroche Chirch of S. Augustine, and an Heremitage. I had Antiquites of the Heremite, the which is an industrius Man. Not far fro the Heremitage is a Cave wher Men have sowl and digged for Treasure. I saw yt by Candel withyn, and there were Conys. Yt was so straite that I had no mynd to crepe far yn." (Vol. vii. p. 138.) The cave found by Mr. Gleig was probably the smugglers' cave known to have existed at one time near the N.E. corner.

a uniform mass of solid masonry on his left, he abandoned this work, and attempted to force an entrance on its E. side, near where he had commenced, at *g*; but owing to the exceeding hardness of the material, after many weeks of great labour, he had penetrated horizontally to the distance of 16 feet only,<sup>1</sup> still encountering nothing but solid masonry.

His excavations had however determined the dimensions of the lower mass, viz. 124 feet from N. to S. and 80 feet from E. to W., the platform overhanging it by 12 feet on its E. and W. sides (as from *b* to *e*), and by 10 feet on its N. and S. sides (as from *b* to *f*). A hole, penetrating perpendicularly through the platform to its upper surface, was discovered at each corner (*c*, *d*) of the lower mass thus exposed, 5 or 6 inches square, and having fragments of wood still adhering to its sides, and the impression of wood in the mortar which formed them.

In July, 1865, the Kent Archæological Society having resolved on continuing these researches, the Rev. R. Drake and myself undertook the work. We began close to the place where Mr. Rolfe had made his entrance in 1843, and, after examining the passage dug by him, resolved to continue it along the S. and the remainder of the W. sides. For this purpose a new shaft was sunk near the S.E. corner of the platform, at *h*, and the passage carried first along the S. side (*a*, *b*) of the lower masonry, still, as before, under the overhanging platform. Towards the centre of this side it was observed that the sand had fallen away from the under-surface of the platform, and that numerous holes of foxes or rabbits communicated with the chamber so formed, which was so shallow, however, that the lower surface of the platform was rubbed and polished by their

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Roach Smith says 12 feet only, but the excavation extends to 16 feet.

backs. At a distance of 29 feet from the S.E. angle (*a*) of the masonry a large quantity of boulders was found mixed with dark vegetable earth; and here (*h*) was a hole extending horizontally into the wall to the extent of 6 feet, partially filled with yellow sand, and containing numerous bones of (as well as I can ascertain) the sheep or goat, the deer, the rabbit, ox, horse, and pig, mostly young. Immediately under this hole, and at the depth of 7 feet from the under side of the platform, another cavity was found in the masonry, extending 20 feet horizontally inwards, and pointing nearly to a spot under the S.E. corner (*i*) of the S. arm of the cross on the surface above. This excavation had been made by roughly breaking away the flints, leaving the sides very irregular. The hole was 5 feet high by 6 feet wide at the entrance; at 8 feet inwards, 5 feet 5 inches by 10 feet; at 11 feet, it contracted in width to 4 feet 6 inches, and so continued to the end. Our excavation was continued round the S.W. corner (*b*), where, as also at the S.E. corner (*a*), an opening ran upwards quite through the platform, like those found by Mr. Rolfe at the other two angles, bearing also the distinct impression of wood. All these four perforations are too small to have served any purpose of a superstructure, and were probably merely indications to the workmen. The passage was completed into Mr. Rolfe's on the W. side, nothing in the nature of an original entrance to the masonry being found in the entire circuit.

In order to determine the depth of the masonry (for our passage only reached to a depth of about 6 feet below the platform), I caused a perpendicular shaft to be sunk immediately under the hole in the S. side described above (*h*.) At first, and for some distance, the soil appeared to have been previously moved, but at a depth of 15 feet from the platform it was undisturbed. The masonry downwards from this depth was not quite



so regular, some courses of stone receding from the perpendicular, and the base thus appearing to incline inwards. At a depth of 18 feet the soil showed symptoms of water, and at 21 feet the water gained rapidly. I then had an iron bar thrust in, to ascertain if the bottom of the masonry had been nearly reached, but it still continued. The water increasing upon us, we were now obliged to discontinue the shaft,—the total depth reached being 22 feet from the under surface of the platform, and upwards of 30 feet from the surface of the ground.

The stonework of this lower mass of masonry, which we were thus exploring, consists entirely of boulders of flint, selected with great care,—not a fragment of other stone being found. In this it contrasts greatly with the outside walls of the Castrum, which are composed of many different materials. The mortar or concrete in which the flints are imbedded appears to be composed of lime, mixed with coarse sand, small pebble, a very slight proportion of ground brick, and fragments of shell, as if from sea-sand. From its great excellence, improved, no doubt, by time,<sup>1</sup> it is extremely difficult to penetrate the masonry. Sledge hammers and iron chisels were employed by Mr. Rolfe, and it yielded only to repeated strokes, the flint breaking sooner than the concrete. Where any portion has been exposed for a long time to the atmosphere, as in the passage beneath the platform found by Mr. Rolfe, the surface downwards is covered with stalactites of carbonate of lime. This concrete has evidently been applied in a fluid state over successive layers of boulders about 6 inches deep, and has in some cases flowed over the masonry into the sand outside, in such a way as to lead to the supposition that the sand had been first excavated to the required depth,

<sup>1</sup> Silica is partly soluble in water, and appears to form a chemical compound with lime, forming silicate of lime; in this way mortar may become hardened by time.

and that the boulders and mortars were then filled in, in regular succession. This overflow is observable only towards the upper part of the masonry, and mostly towards the centre of each side of the parallelogram; as if the excavation for the intended building had not everywhere preserved its perpendicular face, but the soil, having during the work fallen in towards the side, had been thrown out by the workmen and again filled up as the building proceeded; each overflow of mortar being thus constantly covered with a fresh layer of sand. I can only in this way account for these appearances.

The nature of the sand bears out this view of the mode in which this structure was built. The hill of Richborough is composed of the Woolwich and Thanet sands,—formations beneath the London clay. The upper sand is here about 10 feet deep, the lower division is sandy for about 7 feet further downwards, and if we take a depth of 16 or 17 feet from the surface, we come into the more clayey Thanet beds, which become firmer as we go deeper into them, and are the repositories of the freshwater springs. Where the sand of the hill remains in its natural state, and is undisturbed, it is firm and retains nearly a perpendicular face when cut into; where the lower sand has been mixed with the upper, it may be distinguished by its colour and little coherence. Hence, in some parts of the Roman excavation, the disturbed sand would have easily fallen in, as it afterwards settled away from under the platform. This was particularly the nature of the sand along the E. side, where the passage found by Mr. Rolfe under the platform was, without much doubt, the result of settlement; but other places along the S. and W. sides showed the same effect in a less degree. It thus seems evident that this subterranean structure was built in a rectangular pit dug to receive it.

On the E. side, however, there may have been some

further excavation eastwards, shown by the settlement there found in the sand, and this possibly may have been connected with the bank of the river Stour opposite to it. Gleig excavated on this side, but the settlement in the sand here must have taken place at a much earlier date. The stalactites in it must be the result of a vast length of time, for nothing approaching to an incrustation of carbonate of lime was found in the hole in the masonry cut by Mr. Rolfe more than twenty years ago, though the water had found its way through the top of this excavation; nor in the hole found at the S. side, of which no record exists.

It is worthy of remark that little or no organic matter or manufactured material is found in the sand,—one piece only of Samian ware was found, with some iron, buried in sand at a considerable depth on the S. side, and beneath the platform. The platform rests on pure sand, and was, I think, built at an early period of the Roman occupation.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I think we have evidence that this structure was of earlier date than the enclosing walls; for the excavations showed that the earth all round it was virgin soil, with little admixture of Roman pottery or refuse. The foundations of other buildings, or, as I think, roads, between the eastern side of the platform and the edge of the cliff, appear nearly on a level with the face of the platform; and the broken rag-stone strewn over its surface appears to have continued to the edge of the cliff. A very large quantity of broken pottery, bones, oyster-shells, and coins have been found above the level of the platform; very few below. Had the excavation for the masonry been carried through any thickness of this made earth, it is probable that much more of such *débris* would have been found in the soil at a greater depth. At one place, near the N.E. centre of the platform, a subsequent excavation had been made, and was traceable from the made earth with which it had been filled. The subterranean structure is composed entirely of flint boulders, imbedded in mortar, without a trace of tile or other material than lime and sea-sand. It is to be noted that the walls of Richborough are built of various material, some of which, as oolite, must have been brought from a distance. Had this platform and substructure been built at the same time as the outer walls, it is reasonable to suppose that it would have been composed of like material; and had it been of later date, when the Romans were more acquainted with the neighbouring country, that larger material would have been used.

As the soil below the platform on the east side has settled away from

Having ascertained thus much about the masonry below the platform, we subsequently trenched the surface of the platform with trenches about 4 feet wide, commencing at 12 feet from its edge on the E. and W. sides, and 10 feet on the N. and S. We extended them first all round the platform, from the apertures rising from each corner of the under-masonry as before mentioned (at *a, b, c, d*). These first trenches we next connected by cross trenches from E. to W., touching in their course the ends of the longer arms of the cross, and these again we connected so as to expose all the perpendicular faces of the cross. At the point *i* in the plan an attempt had before been made to penetrate the platform, and the cross at this place was undermined from the starting point of the S. arm to near the end of the E. arm. This had been noticed by Mr. Boys.

The cross is situated in the centre of the platform, above which it rises 4 ft. 6 in. at its S.E. corner. It is 87 feet long from N. to S., with a width of 7 ft. 6 in.; the transverse being 22 feet wide and 47 feet long. The longer arms run 35° E. of N. Its masonry is composed of Kentish rag, oolite, tufa, and flint boulders, cemented with a concrete made of lime, broken tile, coarse sand, and grit, very similar to that in the outer wall of the castrum. The corners and ends are faced with squared blocks of tufa,—a material not found elsewhere in the masonry at Richborough, but to be seen the under surface more than on any other side, it is not improbable that some other structure or excavation has been made on this side, perhaps connecting it with the river.

It would appear that the cross on the platform was a subsequent erection, having, as it were, a foundation of its own on the platform, and being composed of different material.

If we adopt the hypothesis that the platform was of earlier date than the outer walls, it is evident that the latter were made to accommodate themselves to the former, for, though the platform is not now in the centre of the Castrum, yet the Decuman gate is placed exactly opposite the centre of the cross, and the south gate (if there was a south gate) would have been as exactly opposite its longest transverse.

in Roman work at Dover. Though resting on the platform, the cross does not form part of it, but is laid on a foundation consisting of blocks of chalk on a layer of Kentish rag, broken fine, without mortar; this again resting on the layer of ferruginous sand which covers the entire face of the platform. The upper surface of the cross is much broken, and has clearly been higher than its present remains.

Starting from corners about 5 feet inwards from the N.W. and N.E. holes (at *c, d*) through the platform, and thence running parallel with its sides, we found resting upon it the remains of a wall (*F*), which may perhaps have been carried round its entire circuit. It is 3 ft. 6 in. wide, and now averaging 1 ft. 6 in. in height. It extends 26 feet southwards down the W. side, with two more detached portions nearer the S. end of this side. Along the N. side it extends 12 feet eastwards from the north-western corners, and 30 feet westwards from the north-eastern, having apparently been demolished at the interval: and again down the E. side southwards 14 feet. It is built of boulders (those on the outside squared), imbedded in mortar composed of lime-grit and broken tile, but containing more sand than other mortar at Richborough, and easily crumbling in the fingers. It stands, like the cross, not immediately on the platform, but on a layer of intervening sand.

The best preserved portion of this wall is the more southern of the two detached fragments on the W. side (*F<sup>v</sup>*), a mass about 8 feet long, and distant from the perforation near the S.W. corner (*b*) 33 feet. This was 3 feet in height, and at 1 ft. 5 in. from the surface of the platform had a course of bonding tiles, apparently Roman, but showing signs of having been broken before their present use, as if taken from an older building. I found fragments of this tile lying also under the wall, in the sand on the surface of the platform. The face

of this portion of wall above the course of tiles contracted one inch. All other parts of the wall appeared to have been broken away down to this bonding-course.

The other of these two detached masses (F<sup>b</sup>) was found completely overthrown outwards. It was exactly in the middle of the W. side. A large piece of Kentish ragstone was imbedded in its masonry.

No remains of worked stone, as for doorways or window-frames, or other architectural features, were found in or near any part of this wall, if we except certain fragments of white marble, carved in mouldings as if for a cornice, discovered in excavating the platform, and now in our Society's Museum at Maidstone. Similar examples are engraved in Mr. Roach Smith's account of Richborough.

Excavations over all the surface of the platform were next undertaken, with a view of determining a point often questioned, whether any opening existed from the top into the subterraneous structure. This operation, which was performed by means of successive trenches, completing the whole surface, was a work of long time and great labour, owing to the large accumulation of soil. No such entrance was discovered, nor anything to warrant a belief that any such had ever existed. The earth had evidently been previously much disturbed; and as this became less evident always towards the edges of the platform, it would seem that former explorers had examined the central part the most diligently (attracted probably by the cross), where were also fewer coins and other relics found in the soil. Mr. Boys appears to have contented himself with exploring around the cross, besides digging such trenches as enabled him to estimate the extent of the platform.

A great number of Roman coins was found, as usual, during these excavations; none however of remarkable type, or adding anything to our knowledge of Rutupian

history. At various times we also found a small bronze steelyard (Fig. 1); a flat square piece of ivory, engraved as for a counter (Fig. 2); a bronze pin, with delicate



Fig. 1.

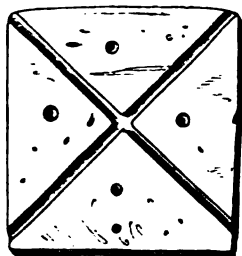


Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.

female bust for its head (Fig. 3); and a circular bronze fibula, ornamented with two raised circles and a flat raised centre, in which is struck in *intaglio* a well-executed figure of an eagle (Fig. 4). All these are engraved here at their actual size. Also an iron axehead (Fig. 5) engraved at reduced size.

It is well known that human remains have been constantly found on the eastern side of the area of the *Castrum*, near the platform. Mr. Drake caused a hole to be dug here at a spot where the corn grew less luxuriantly, and found some large squared ragstones, and beneath them some human bones. In tracing the remains of foundations between the platform and the

edge of the cliff I found, at a depth of 4 feet, numerous remains of human skeletons, apparently buried without order, with bones of several bodies lying in the space

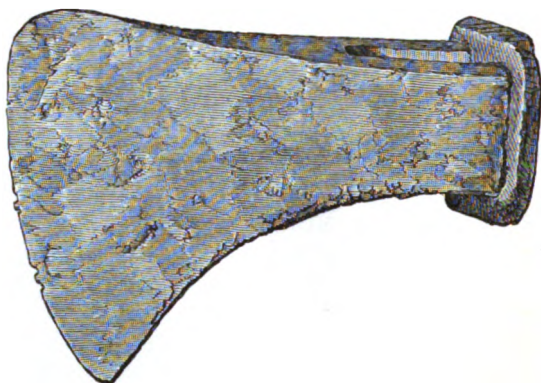


Fig. 5.

which might be occupied by one grave. All appeared as if they had been disinterred and buried again. A fact of some significance was that all these bones rested on a surface strewn with a similar material to that covering the platform, apparently composed of broken ragstone. These foundations, which are most likely those alluded to by Mr. R. Smith in his work on Richborough, and supposed by him to be medieval, may be traced along the cliff at the N.E. corner of the Castrum, and are composed of boulders loosely bedded in a friable mortar, and resting on blocks of chalk. I traced this wall (κκ) to the N.E. edge of the platform, and again on the N. side towards the centre: it is rather higher than the face of the platform, part of which it overlaps. I took it to be the foundation of a Roman road, but in this I may be mistaken. Similar foundations exist in other parts within the walls (as at L), and may be traced in dry seasons in the growing corn.

Large masses of Roman masonry, apparently overthrown, are to be found under the cliff. Some were



recently discovered by workmen constructing a bridge over the stream here, and others were destroyed during the formation of the South-Eastern Railway past the spot. A quantity of broken wall has also fallen into the river near the railway. These remains were supposed by Mr. Boys to be those of a return-wall on the eastern side of the Castrum, completing the square; but all evidences of the kind terminate about opposite the N. side of the platform, and none are found further southwards. These remains under the hill may then have had some connection with the water, as, for instance, with a passage from it to the Castrum,—possibly even to the subterranean building, which may have in this direction an entrance yet to be discovered. The falling in of the sand beneath the ledge of platform, which I have described as having taken place on this side, might point to the same thing.

The summer of 1865, being exceedingly dry, enabled me to trace in the growing corn spots where foundations will probably be found. It seems clear that Richborough was, during the Roman occupation of Britain, an island, at least at high water. The high ground on which the Castrum stands is entirely surrounded by marsh land, still but little above high-water mark. It would appear that much more water flowed into this estuary in earlier times than at present; even now, from better drainage and the removal of timber, the country round it becomes dryer every century. A number of small streams, bearing evidence of their once larger size, converge as they approach Richborough. The Gosshall, Poulders, and Marshborough streams contributed their quota at the north of the island, the Delf and the North Stream running through Sandwich flowed into the sea on the south side, where Stonar Beach then, I think, formed the seashore. But when the sea ceased to flow through from Reculver, the

estuary would speedily silt up; and thus, without actual rise in the land since that period, these natural causes would leave it dry as at present. The Roman foundations discovered, as mentioned above, during the formation of the railway, were not much above the present level of the marsh. The map accompanying this paper I have drawn to represent the probable division of land and water during the Roman period, the levels being taken from the actual configuration of the land above high-water at the present time.

Historians have supposed the famous Rutupine oysters to have been bred where are the present marshes. I have sought in vain for any evidence of oysters in the immediate neighbourhood of Richborough, but have found their shells in the Stour at several places in its valley, lying in such a manner that the oysters had evidently lived where they were found.

On the N.W. side of this island a remarkable excavation exists in the side of the hill, totally unlike any naturally formed inlet, and having no spring or water-supply to account for such a formation of the land. It embraces an area of about three acres, cut back, as it were, into the land at a uniform depth, and having a contracted entrance; in fact, has all the appearance of a harbour—an appearance confirmed by the existence on the mainland, immediately opposite, of a place called "Fleet," the Saxon word for a harbour. This sheltered spot may well have been chosen by the Romans for the better security of their small craft.

On the S. slope of the hill a few cottages remain, called Lowton. From the number of Roman remains found here, I should conjecture this to have been the site of the Roman town. No excavations, so far as I am aware, have ever been made here, but in the dry summer of 1865, traces of foundations were visible in the corn; and it must be remembered that on this





side of the hill the soil is much deeper, and has been brought down from the parts above by rain and plough, so that we must not expect the corn here to give us many indications.

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\*.\* From the foregoing description, drawn up with great pains by the zealous and obliging conductor of the Society's researches, it will be seen that their result, if in no other way very interesting, has at least determined that neither on the surface of this extraordinary mass of masonry, nor down its sides to a depth of 11 feet (*i.e.* of 14 feet from the present level of the ground), does any entrance to its interior exist: also that if any chamber should be concealed within the substructure, it must at least be more than 16 feet horizontally inwards from its eastern side, and more than 20 feet from its southern. With great deference to his authority, and also to that of Mr. Roach Smith, who has deemed it probable that an entrance and a chamber may yet exist, I cannot bring myself to see any reason for supposing so. A subterranean chamber with wall more than 20 feet thick, and entrance (supposing it not less than 6 feet in height) more than 17 feet below its top, seems a thing impossible to have been designed by man, and is certainly one which we are unable to connect with any known Roman necessities or customs, either of peace or war. If the mass were built for a chamber, it may be further remarked, the overhanging platform, still subterranean, which crowns it, remains entirely unintelligible.

I cannot but regard the result of our researches as quite conclusive against the existence of any such internal chamber.

On the other hand, the whole construction of the mass, its shape, its evident method of building, and its enormous strength even for a Roman work, are suggestive of a foundation; and this alternative seems also the only intelligible solution. We may suppose the Comes Littoris Saxonici, designing to erect here within the camp some huge building—in all likelihood a Pharos or a watchtower of unusual height, such as the rather low situation would require—and mistrusting the sand of Richborough Hill for his foundation, to take the elaborate and thoroughly Roman step of digging it out for the required area, and to a depth of perhaps 30 feet; proceeding to make his own stratum to build upon. Labour was abundant to his hand, for the garrison's sole occupation was to keep a look-out for the Saxon pirate "*dubiis venturum ventis*;" and neighbouring Britons for the work were as plentiful and of as little account as the flint boulders

which he would order them to bring. As the slaves poured the flints into the squared pit, the Roman soldiers "flushed" them with their wonderful concrete, and in a very short time there lay in the bed of Thanet sand a rock which might have supported Babel.

Whether the great superstructure was ever raised upon it may be doubted, for no existing remains on the platform point to a building of size requiring a specially solid foundation, and the existing remains are undoubtedly Roman. Many circumstances may be imagined such as would prevent the full accomplishment of the magnificent plan,—a change of Comes for a less enterprising successor,—a mutiny of the troops,—a series of Saxon attacks in stronger force than usual,—the final withdrawal of the Roman garrison in the fifth century. There is no difficulty in explaining the absence of any evidences of a building adequate to the foundation; any difficulty lies in understanding the remains actually existing on its surface.

The smaller remains,—viz. of the wall F, which probably formed a complete rectangular enclosure upon the platform,—are built so exactly and regularly at a short distance within that part of it which is not mere platform, 5 feet deep, but huge solid foundation, perhaps 30 feet deep, that we may conclude them to have been certainly built with knowledge of, and with reference to, the position and intention of the great substructure. Their masonry is, as has been said, clearly Roman, with its red mortar and its course of bonding tiles; and so is that of the broader wall of cruciform shape, in the centre. May we not suppose these to have formed part of some temporary or substitutional building raised in lieu of the original colossal design? The cruciform remains have always puzzled investigators: their broadest part is too narrow to have formed the foundation of any building containing chambers, but so wide that we may well believe the solid stone wall which must have formed its upward continuation to have been of very considerable height. As a clue perhaps not unworthy of consideration, I would suggest that this building may have formed a sort of internal buttress or support to a timber Pharos built around it, as wooden houses are at this day built around and supported by their stack of chimneys in the centre. A cruciform shape would be the very form best calculated for stability in itself when raised to a great height, and for support to the timbers surrounding it. No one who has seen a Canadian town after a fire, can have failed to be struck with the curious effect of these central chimneys standing tall and alone above the ashes of the wooden buildings; and in this state let us imagine the watch-tower of Richborough to have been left by the first Saxon attack after Roman departure. The tall masonry also would not be very long in reaching its present level.

Notice should not be omitted here of a well-known statement as to the final departure of the Romans, contained in the short chronicle known as '*Historia Gildæ*,'—a work which, as we learn from the author's own date for his birth, was written about a century only from their departure; and which, from its many incidental confirmations of its own genuineness, as well as from the respect paid to it by Bede and Alcuin, must be considered the strongest evidence of the few facts which it records of that period of

our history. In enumerating the various means of self-defence left to the Britons in mercy by their departing masters, this author tells us :—

“In littore quoque oceani ad meridianam plagam, quâ naves eorum habebantur, quia et inde barbariæ feræ bestiæ timebantur, *turres* per intervalla *ad prospectum maris* collocant; et valedicunt tanquam ultra non reversuri.” (Hist. Gildæ, § 18.)

Richborough and its harbour would certainly be principal spots indicated by the opening words here quoted; and it is clear that the description refers to watch-towers, not to fortresses,—with which indeed Richborough, and the other harbours most exposed to the Saxons (the “feræ bestiæ” described,) had long been provided. May we not, then, possibly discover in these words at once the origin of our mass of masonry, and the cause of the hurry and change of design apparent in its incompleteness?

T. G. G. F.

## ON THE JUTE, ANGLE, AND SAXON ROYAL PEDIGREES.

BY DANIEL HENRY HAIGH.

EVERY question relating to the *origines* of our race should be especially interesting to men of Kent, for from Kent the Teutonization of Britain began. The pillar-stone, on the shores of the Frith of Forth, which marks the grave of Horsa's grandfather, is to them a family monument; and rich as their country is in antiquities of every age, and worthily appreciated as these antiquities are, not one memorial of the historic past has the value for them which that would have, could it be found again, which, inscribed with his name,<sup>1</sup> for at least 300 years after his death, preserved the memory of Horsa himself. To them I offer as it were a family pedigree, the record of the ancestry of their kings, ascending to the 1st century of our era, collated with, and vindicated by the genealogies of the Goths and Longobards on the one hand, and those of the Angles and Saxons on the other.

Of this record, the first part is preserved in the 'Historia Britonum,' a work originally written in the 5th century,<sup>2</sup> and (in my opinion) by S. Gildas, who was contemporary with Horsa and Hengest in his

<sup>1</sup> "In orientalibus partibus Cantiae" (Ven. Bæda). Qu. at Stonar, "the stone of honour," *lapis tituli*.

<sup>2</sup> For the son of Vortigern was still living, and the record of Arthur's twelve battles is the work of a contemporary.



youth. The earliest known recension of this work, (nearly represented by a MS. at Paris), made in Kent,<sup>1</sup> in A.D. 675, the 5th year of the reign of an Eadmund, otherwise unknown, gives the descent *Jeta*, *Folewald*, *Fin*, *Fredulf*, *Frealof*, *Woden*, *Wecta*, *Wicta*, *Wictgils*, *Hors* and *Hencgest*; and this alone of all the MSS. spells the names which require it with the Runic *wen*. The only other MS. (in the Vatican library), which represents this Kentish recension, has the 1st name *Geta*, all others have *Geata*.

The genealogies in the 'Textus Roffensis' uniformly represent Woden as the son of *Frealaf*. One of these (that of the Lindisfaras) gives his ancestry thus: *Eata*, *Godwlf*, *Finn*, *Freodowlf*, *Frealaf*. This dates from the earlier years of the 9th century.

A passage, inserted s.a. 547, in the oldest MS. of the English Chronicle (of A.D. 891), has nearly the same series: *Geat*, *Godulf*, *Finn*, *Freothowulf*, *Freotholaf*; and of these variations I accept the first as an important correction of the older genealogy, and reject the last on the independent authority of the Edda, which gives us *Gutholfr* and *Fiarlef* (*Frialaf*). For the introduction of the name of *Folewald* (for *Folcwald*) in the earlier document, it is easy to account; there was a king, contemporary with Hencgest,—Fin, son of Folcwalda,—whose memory was fresh in men's minds when the 'Historia Britonum' was written; and its author has simply confounded him with Fin, son of Godwulf.

The MSS. of the English Chronicle, Cotton. Tiber. A. vi. and B. i. (of A.D. 977 and 1046 respectively), have *Sceaf*, *Bedwig*, *Hwala*, *Hathra*, *Itermon*, *Heremod*, *Scyldwa* (*Scealdwa*), *Beaw*, and *Tætwa*, as ancestors of *Geat*,

<sup>1</sup> For the author of this recension says, "mortuo autem Hencgesto, Ottha filius eius *advenit* de sinistrali parte Britanniae ad regnum Cantuariorum et de ipso omnes *reges Cantuariorum* usque in hodiernum diem," where all others have "transivit" and "reges illius patriæ."

but omit *Frithwulf*; and Asser, writing in A.D. 893, has the same, save that for *Sceaf* he substitutes the name of the Patriarch *Sem*; he retains *Frithwulf*, and inserts *Frithowald* between *Frealaf* and *Woden*, as does the contemporary MS. of the Chronicle, C. C. Cambr. clxxiii. (of A.D. 891). The latest genealogy (of the time of Æthelred II.) in the 'Textus Roffensis,' and the MS. Tiberius B. iv. (of A.D. 1016), omit *Hwala* and *Frithuwulf*. The Edda of Snorro has all these names, save *Hwala* and *Tætwa*, but adds seven others between *Sceaf* and *Bedwig*. Æthelweard, on the other hand, a century later than Asser, omits all between *Sceaf* and *Scyldwa*, and of *Sceaf* relates a story which belongs to another hero of antiquity, (as we know from *Beowulf*); but this story throws light on the origin of the fable in MSS. A. vi., B. i., and B. iv., that *Sceaf* was a son of Noe, born in the Ark, and on Asser's substitution of the name of *Sem* for his.

I think it very probable that our fathers, possessed as they certainly were of the art of writing when they came to Britain, and inheriting it as a tradition from days of very remote antiquity, had records of the ancestry of their kings ascending to *Sceaf*; and the more so, as they seem to have had this tradition in common with their Scandinavian kindred; but as we have no other authorities, by the aid of which we might have formed a judgment as to the credibility of the statement which is first presented to us in the 9th century, nor dates whereby we might have verified the chronological succession of his ancestors, I commence with *Geat*, whose era is satisfactorily ascertained, since his identity with *Gawt*, the ancestor of the Ostrogothic Kings, is admitted.<sup>1</sup> He stands at the head of the

<sup>1</sup> *Gawt* is the correct reading, transformed into *Gapt* by inaccurate scribes, mistaking *wen* for *p*. *Gaut* is the Goth. equivalent of our *Geát*, and Procopius' Γαῦροι are our *Geátas*. The pronunciation of the words was nearly, if not quite, the same.

genealogy in the record of S. Gildas, as Gawt does in that of Jordanis; and if S. Gildas says that he was reputed to be the son of a god,<sup>1</sup> Jordanis tells us that the Goths regarded the chiefs, to whose valour and generalship they owed the victory they gained over the forces of Domitian, A.D. 86, as something more than human, and called them *Anses*, i.e. "demigods;" evidently intending to mark the period when the line of the Anses, (*Gawt*, *Hulmul*, etc., as he gives it), commenced.

A statement, in a genealogy preserved by Langhorne, (from some authority which is now lost), that *Geta* (first of his family) went to Asgard, and that Woden, his descendant, returned to Germany, may account for the silence of Jordanis as to his ancestry. In the 1st and 2nd centuries of our era, the Goths were on the southern coasts of the Baltic and the mouth of the Vistula; early in the 3rd they were infesting Dacia. Of this movement we may regard Geat as having been the precursor, the first of the family who came into conflict with the Roman Empire, the first who emigrated to Asgard, i.e. the district whence Woden returned to Germany,—the coasts of the Black Sea, where Azov (*Asa-hof*) still preserves the trace of their name. In the East, therefore, he was regarded as the founder of the fortunes of his family; and, perhaps, the distinguished part which he played on the occasion in question, was the first step of their advancement to the sovereignty of the Ostrogoths, which was completed in the person of his great-grandson Amal. Thus we may place the birth of Geat in the first half of the 1st century of our era, and with this date the genealogy of his descendants is consistent throughout.

For, in the middle of the 3rd century, we overtake

<sup>1</sup> Asser says that Geat was himself the object of divine honours, quoting Sedulius, but with an evident misapprehension of his meaning.

his 5th descendant Ostrogotha, at the close of his career. He had passed the Danube in the 5th year of the Emperor Philip; Decius was sent against him, but on being saluted Emperor, A.D. 249, made peace with him, and returned to Italy. Cniva, his successor, probably his son, renewed the war after his death, and it was in opposing him that Decius lost his life, A.D. 251. During the reign of Constantine, Aoric and Araric are mentioned as kings of the Goths; they are not named in the line of descent, and it is not improbable that the great Gothic nation was divided into tribes, each acknowledging a distinct succession of kings. In A.D. 323, during their reign, Constantine defeated the Goths in several engagements, drove them out of Illyricum, and carried the war into Dacia with such success, that he was enabled to boast that he had recovered that province, which, half a century before, Aurelian had relinquished to them. The Goths, however, were not subdued; for in A.D. 331, the Sarmatians sought the aid of Constantine against them; and, when it was known that he had espoused their cause, Araric passed the Danube, ravaged Mæsia, and routed the Roman forces, commanded by the Emperor in person. In the following year, under the generalship of the younger Constantine, the Romans retrieved their honour, expelled the Goths from Mæsia, pursued them into Sarmatia, and reduced them to submission, exacting from Araric his eldest son as a hostage. Geberic, 4th in descent from Ostrogotha, if (as is not improbable) we may identify Cnvida with Cniva, next appears as a king of the Goths. Desiring to signalize the commencement of his reign by some deed of glory, he made war upon the Vandals, who had recently migrated from the shores of the western ocean to the borders of Dacia, and so completely defeated them, after an obstinate conflict on the river Marosk, that the remnant

of their army, with all who were unfit for war, emigrated to Pannonia, and were allowed to settle there by Constantine. The great Hermanaric, who died in A.D. 375, at the age of 110, probably became king about the beginning of the 4th century. He was never in conflict with the Roman armies, but devoted his energies to the conquest of Central Europe, and subjected to his authority Southern Russia, Lithuania, Poland, and a great part of Germany. Eventually, after the death of Geberic, he seems to have been acknowledged sole ruler of the Ostrogoths. He died, at last, by his own hand, because, languishing under the effects of a dangerous wound inflicted by a Roxolan chief, he despaired of being able to oppose effectual resistance to the Huns. Withimer and Witheric followed successively; their relation to this line is not stated. Winithari, grandson of Hermanaric's elder brother Wuldulf, was the next; then Hermanaric's son Hunimund; then his son Thorismund, whose death in the flower of his age, and the 2nd year of his reign, so afflicted his people, that for 40 years they allowed no one to occupy his throne; and his son Berimund, disdaining the supremacy of the Huns, as it is said, but probably disgusted at being debarred of his rights, fled to the Visigoths. These 5 reigns must have occupied a short period, for, after this interregnum of 40 years, Winithari's grandsons, Walamir, Theodemir, and Withe-mir, appear reigning conjointly and confederate with Attila. Theodemir survived his brothers until A.D. 475, and then was succeeded by his son Theoderic, who died in A.D. 526. Eutharic, of the younger line, married Theoderic's daughter Amalasuinth, and their son Athalaric died in infancy, the last male representative of his race.

Here then we have a genealogical descent, which is not only intrinsically probable, but consistent, at every

point of contact, with contemporary history ; and which affords us a fair criterion whereby to measure the parallel descents of the royal dynasties of the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons through Woden from Geat ; all of which we shall find to be as nearly accordant with it as we have any right to expect.

In researches of this kind, when our authorities are discordant, the safest course is to follow the earliest, because it is most probable that they have preserved for us ancient traditions in their purest form, unless in any particular instance there be reason to suspect an error. To this principle I shall adhere throughout.

The descendants of Geat, in the line of ancestry of our own kings, were Godwulf, Fin, Frithwulf, Frealaf, and Woden. Frithwald, inserted between the two last by Asser, and in the earliest MS. (contemporary with Asser) of the English Chronicle, but omitted in the MSS. Tiberius A. vi., B. i., and B. iv., may be safely rejected on the authority of S. Gildas, of the earlier genealogy in the *Textus Roffensis*, and of the Norse genealogies. Woden, then, the 5th descendant of Geat, stands in the same degree as Ostrogotha, who was living in A.D. 250 ; and as his must have been a younger line, he would be, under ordinary circumstances, Ostrogotha's junior. The date at which his descendants in the 4th degree, Horsa and Hengest, appear in our annals, and the circumstances of their history, suggest that he lived during the latter half of the 3rd century and the earlier of the 4th, and thus was contemporary with Hunnuil, Athal, Achiulf and his sons. This inference, on the one hand, is quite consistent with the facts of the Gothic genealogy and history, and, on the other, is abundantly confirmed by the other genealogies of his descendants, and by the circumstances of his life, as detailed in Scandinavian tradition.

For whatever was the period in which he lived,

Woden is in truth a historical personage. As such all our early chroniclers regarded him. The author of the 'History of the Britons,' writing within a century and a half after his death, without an idea of anything divine or mythical about him, records the names of his ancestors; S. Kentigern, in the 6th century, is represented, in his sermons to the Angles, as denouncing him, as one who had been a mighty king in his day, but had been damned for his crimes; Ven. Bæda, in the 8th century, says of him in parenthesis, "from whose stock the royal races of many provinces derived their origin;" in the 9th, Asser simply mentions him as one of the line of Alfred's ancestors; and in the 10th, Æthelweard calls him "king of a multitude of barbarians," "king of many nations, whom now some Pagans worship as a god." The rest speak of him in similar terms, in exact accordance with what is related of him in the Ynglinga Saga.

The details of his story are by no means improbable.

At a time when many chieftains fled from their dominions, because the Roman generals were going about subjecting all nations to the authority of the Empire, he is said to have left his home at the head of a powerful force of warriors, whose bravery and noble appearance, superior wisdom and civilization, caused them to be regarded, by the ruder peoples through whose territories they passed, as more like gods than men, and contributed materially to ensure the success which everywhere attended them. Woden invaded and conquered in succession Russia, Franconia, East Saxony, Westphalia, and Denmark, and established kingdoms in these countries for his sons, Suarlami, Sigge, Wægdæg, Bældæg, and Scyld. Gylf, the King of Sweden, knowing that he had no force to oppose him, adopted the wiser policy of receiving him amicably, and allowed him to form a settlement in his land, in which he

founded the city of Sigtun, built therein a temple, and established sacrifices according to the rites of Asaland. Woden then conquered Norway, and gave it to his son Sæming, who appears to have been born after his arrival in the North. Returning to Sweden, and perceiving that death was near, he put an end to his life, and left the kingdom to his son Yngve.

In all this there is nothing improbable. It is a simple narrative of an expedition, by a comparatively civilized race, through regions inhabited by peoples less advanced than they, by a race who had the address to consolidate by the arts of peace the conquests of the sword. No wonder that success everywhere attended them, that plenty and prosperity followed them, that the dynasties they established remained secure. They were, in fact, Goths, far the most civilized of those whom Greeks and Romans called Barbarians;<sup>1</sup> Woden and the rest of their chiefs, the *Asar*, were those whom Jordanis calls *Anses* (for *As* is a Norse equivalent of the Gothic *Ans*, O.E. *Ōs*); and, through Woden, Swedes, Danes, Jutes, Angles, Saxons, and many other tribes, each received a royal dynasty of the same blood as that of the Goths.

It is implied that this expedition was consequent on reverses suffered in conflict with the forces of the Roman Empire. Of all the successes which the Romans gained over the Goths, during the period in which we have ascertained that Woden must have lived, Constantine's victories in A.D. 323 seem the most likely to have occasioned it. Woden must have been far advanced in years at the time, for he had many sons who had attained to maturity. We shall find the supposition, that his expedition commenced immediately after this defeat, confirmed by history, and consistent with the genealogies of his descendants.

<sup>1</sup> "Pæne omnibus barbaris Gothi sapientiores semper extiterunt, Græcisque pæne consimiles." (Jordanis, 'De rebus Geticis,' iii.)



For Sarmatia was Woden's first conquest. In the interval between A.D. 323 and 331 the Goths had conquered Sarmatia, and in that country they were eventually subdued, when Constantine responded to the appeal of the Sarmatians and espoused their cause.

Again, this supposition receives striking confirmation from the history of the Longobards, and in turn invests with a character of truth their ancient tradition. The Vandals, we are told, making encroachments on the territories of their neighbours, sent a message to the Longobards, demanding tribute; they replied they would rather fight than yield to this demand, and both nations prepared for war; the Vandals besought Woden to grant them victory, whilst the Longobards, more wisely, made interest with his wife Freya, and she so arranged matters that her husband gave the victory to them. Paul Warnefrid calls this story ridiculous, because "victory is not attributed to the power of men, but rather is dispensed from heaven;" evidently intimating that the tradition ascribed to human agency the victory which the Longobards gained; but if we consider attentively the nature of the case, it does not appear so very ridiculous. Woden claimed magical power. Northern tradition tells us that his people believed that victory was always his; and that not only was he always successful when he commanded in person, but that, whenever he sent them on any expedition, he laid his hands upon their heads, and invoked a blessing on them, and that they then went forth confident of victory. This mighty chief was in the neighbourhood of the place where the Longobards and Vandals had arranged their forces in preparation for battle; both parties sought that blessing from him, the utterance of that charm which would ensure them victory; and it is easy to understand what effect, in raising the spirits of one party, and depressing those of the other,

the knowledge that he had espoused the interests of the former would have. Let us, then, compare this tradition with history. The Vandals were actually in motion at the time we have conjecturally fixed for Woden's expedition. About A.D. 334 they had migrated, in the course of one year, from the shores of the Western Ocean to the borders of Dacia, where they suffered defeat at the hands of Geberic. They had, therefore, as Paul says, been pressing on the settlements of their neighbours, those of the Longobards amongst the rest.

The chronology of the Longobards is perfectly consistent with the supposition that Ibor and Ayo, their first historic chiefs, were living at this time, and contemporary with Woden. Although their genealogical succession does not commence before their 3rd king, Lethu; yet, as his reign was of 40 years' duration, and Agelmund's was 33, we may fairly take the succession of their kings as equivalent to a genealogy; and, if we place Ibor and Ayo in the same line as Ostrogotha and Woden, we observe that Hildigisl, who was 8th in succession from Ayo, and was slain in A.D. 548, is but one degree above Theoderic the Ostrogoth, who died in A.D. 526. Further, if we suppose Hildigisl to have been born about A.D. 500, and allow 30 years average to the generations, the birth of Lethu would be about A.D. 350. Then taking A.D. 333 as the date of the victory, 10 years of Ibor and Ayo's chieftainship bring us to A.D. 343, Agelmund's 30 years reign to A.D. 376, and Lamissio's 3 years to A.D. 379, for the accession of Lethu (at the age of 29,<sup>1</sup> according to the former

<sup>1</sup> Paul gives no dates for the succession of these first kings. Some uncritical hand has interpolated this series in Prosper's Chronicle:—

A.D. 379. Ibor and Ayo conquered the Vandals.

389. Agelmund reigned 33 years.

423. Lamissio reigned 3 years.

Lethu's reign, therefore, would be from A.D. 426 to 466; but as this

reckoning). Thus the succession of their kings, for the most part genealogical, corresponds with the genealogy of the Goths; their history coincides with that of the Goths; and their chronology is consistent with the theory, that Woden's career of conquest, commenced in Sarmatia, had not yet reached Denmark in A.D. 333.

The genealogies of our royal dynasties are very variously stated, in the notes appended to some MSS. of the 'Historia Britonum' by some anonymous Cambrian authority, in the Textus Roffensis, in the English Chronicle, and in the Tables of Florence of Worcester; and in several of the lines of descent we observe, that the later chronicles give more names than the earlier. So the Edda interpolates 7 names in the ancestry of Geat, of which our chroniclers knew nothing, (the same process of amplification); and the Ynglinga Saga illustrates the way in which it has been brought about. The succession of kings there given may be historical, but cannot be genealogical throughout; so I apprehend that the additional names, which appear in these later genealogies, represent elder lines which failed, and made way for younger branches of the same family. If we take the historical succession of the kings of any one of the kingdoms of the Octarchy, and suppose the records of their relationship to have been lost, and the series represented as genealogical by a writer who knew only of their names and their succession, we can readily understand this process of augmentation. For instance, Penda, Peada, Wulfhere, Æthelred, Cœnred, Ceolred, a succession of 6 kings, represent but 3 degrees of the Mercian genealogy.

The Cambrian genealogist must have been living a

would scarcely allow an average of 20 years for the 5 succeeding generations, I have no hesitation in discarding these dates. They do not appear in MS. Colbert, (the best of Prosper).

century earlier than the time of the compilation of the English Chronicle, for the latest name he gives is that of Ecgfrith, the son of Offa, who died A.D. 796. I shall venture to quote him as Nennius, for, when he speaks of the baptism of Eadwine, he says, "if any one wish to know who baptized them, Run map Urbgen baptized them," and MS. Denham, B. ii. 35-6, (one of those which contain the shorter prologue of Nennius), has, "if any one wish, etc., thus Bishop Renchid, and Elbo-deus, the most holy of Bishops, related to me, Run map ur Beghen (that is Paulinus)," etc. We have, then, a disciple of S. Elbod imparting this information, and Nennius is the only one we know of who satisfies this condition, of those whose names are connected with editions of this history. The writer of these notes was evidently well acquainted with the history of the times, of which he has left us these fragments, and supplies, in several instances, information which we have not elsewhere. In the East Anglian genealogy, for example, he gives a descent which enables us to understand the relation of Aldwulf to his predecessors; and in the Mercian we have an opportunity of testing his accuracy; for the poem of Beowulf tells us that Offa was contemporary with Hygelac, who was slain in A.D. 511, and Nennius gives 3 generations between him and Penda, who was born A.D. 576, which will answer exactly; whilst the Chronicle and Florence give the manifestly impossible number 7. His authority, therefore, I do not hesitate to prefer, and shall follow, except in one instance, in which I think he may possibly have been mistaken.

Next in value to these Notes I consider the genealogies in the *Textus Roffensis*, originally compiled in A.D. 824, since Cœnwulf of Mercia is the latest whose descent is traced, and Beornwulf his second successor, who died in that year, the latest who is named.

All authorities are agreed that there were 3 generations between Woden and the brothers Horsa and Hengest, and nearly so as to their names.

| <i>Hist. Brit.</i><br>( <i>Paris MS.</i> ) | <i>Bæda.</i>          | <i>Æthelweard.</i>   | <i>Florence.</i>      |
|--------------------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| Weota.                                     | Uecta.                | Wither. Uuithar.     | Wehta.                |
| Wicta.                                     | Uitta.                | Wicta. Uuicta.       | Witta.                |
| Wictgils.                                  | Uictgils.             | Wihtgils. Uuyrhtels. | Wihtgils.             |
| Hors and<br>Hengest.                       | Hengist and<br>Horsa. | Hengest and Horsa.   | Hengest and<br>Horsa. |

Hors and Hengest arrived in Britain in A.D. 428; Hors fell at Episford, A.D. 435; Hengest reigned after him until A.D. 443, when he was defeated at Conisbrough, fell into the hands of Ambrosius, and was put to death. A Frisian tradition, quoted by Suffridus, tells us that two nephews and namesakes of theirs, sons of Udolph, Duke of Frisia, and of their sister Svana, completed the conquest of Britain which they had begun. It is uncertain what was the authority he followed, for he seems to have been mistaken in quoting Ocka Scharlensis, who mentions indeed a second Hors and Hengest, but represents them to have been the sons of Odilbalt, King of Frisia; but his story appears the more probable, inasmuch as he connects the second Hengest with the first, and so accounts for his succeeding him, and we need have no difficulty in accepting it. It is by no means unlikely that there were in the same family more persons than one of each name,<sup>1</sup> and we can easily account for the circumstance

<sup>1</sup> There was a Chrocus, an Alamannic chief, in Britain in the beginning of the 4th century, and another who figures in the history of Gaul half a century earlier. In the West Saxon genealogy we have two Cuthas and three Ceols in two parallel generations, (abbreviated names, which, however, we can write in full by the aid of their history); later, we have amongst the children of Eadweard the Elder, Æthelstan, Eadmund, Eadred, Eadgyth, and Ælfgifu, and the same 5 names amongst those of Æthelred II.; and Eadward and Eadmund, sons of Eadgar, sons of Æthelred II., and sons of Eadmund Ironside. The succession in Beowulf, Wægmond, Wihstan, Wiglaf, is only changed in the case of the Mercian

that the second Hengest is not distinguished from the first in our history. In the original records or sagas, from which the English Chronicle was compiled, the name of Hengest simply was given in the narrative of his exploits, in much the same way as we find it in one of the episodes in *Beowulf*: the chronicler set down an epitome of what he found recorded, and later writers, who knew nothing of a second Hengest, have completely identified the two; just as the author of the '*Historia Britonum*,' in assigning 16 years as the duration of the reign of Constantine of Armorica, has added to his 12 years the 4 of Constantine the Tyrant, who was his immediate predecessor, and so confounded them together.

We shall be the more ready to admit the possibility of confusion, such as this, arising out of the unsystematic records of the 5th century, if we consider the exactly parallel circumstances of the 10th, a period in which the English Chronicle was being regularly kept, and the events of successive years entered as they occurred. The history of this latter period is involved in obscurity almost as great as that of the earlier, owing to the frequent recurrence of the same names. There were certainly two Anlafs connected with the history of Northumbria in the 10th century, a son of Guthfrith and a son of Sitric, and one was the other's nephew;

princes, Wiglaf, Wigmund, and Wihstan. Æthelfrith, King of Northumbria, had a son, as well as a brother, named Eanfrith; and the names of two ancestors of Eadwine, Wuscfrea and Yffe, were given to a son and grandson of his. In later Northumbrian history we have Eric son of Harald Blodaxe, and Eric son of Harald Blaaland; and in the Norse genealogies frequent repetitions of Frode, Halfdan, Ingiald, etc. So Swane might well have named her sons after her brothers. The feeling which usually dictates the choice of names in a family is nothing new. S. John the Baptist's name was objected to by his relations on this very account, that it had been borne by none of his family; and doubtless it has been the practice in all ages and amongst all peoples, as it certainly was amongst the Teutonic tribes, to give to children the names of their kindred or illustrious ancestors.

and two Erics, each the son of a Harald; but the Chronicle affords us no assistance towards distinguishing the Anlafs, and only notices one of the Erics; their history could never be unravelled without aid from other sources. If this, then, be the case with regard to the Annals of the 10th century, it is no wonder that the history of two Hencgests, in the 5th, should have been confounded.

This Frisian tradition affords a satisfactory solution of a difficulty, which otherwise would have been insuperable, the notices of a Hencgest in our history, after the time to which the fall of the first, (recorded in the Brut, Boece, and Ocka), must be referred, and enables us in part to reconcile the conflicting statements in our Chronicles, relative to the genealogy of the Kings of Kent. It is the second Hencgest who stands at the head of this genealogy in Nennius' Notes, (a document entirely distinct from, and independent of the 'Historia,' in which the ancestry of the first Hencgest is given), for it is remarkable that this alone is not traced to Woden, as it could not have been without including the name of a female, and so departing from the universal rule of these genealogies. It is this Hencgest, too, who figures in an episode of the poem of Beowulf, a contemporary of Fin, the son of Folcwalda, and of Hrothgar the Scylding. His death is recorded in the 40th year of the "coming of the Angles," A.D. 467.

Again, Boece says that after the death of Octa, in the last year of the reign of Uther, the Saxons made another Octa, a son of his brother, King of England; and, shortly after, he notices his giving Northumbria to Colgrim, and going to the south. Buchanan also speaks of a second Octa, whom he calls a son of the former. In the 'Historia Britonum,' the passage, which immediately precedes the notice of Arthur's 12 vic-

tories, informs us that Octa went from North Britain to Kent, on the death of his father Hengest (A.D. 467), and that he was the progenitor of all the Kings of Kent. Henry of Huntingdon says that Æsc was Hengest's successor; and we know from the English Chronicle that the Kings of Kent were called Æscings. Æthelweard enables us to reconcile these statements, by saying that Eæc (Æsc) was surnamed Octa; that he was a son of Hengest, and grandfather of Eormenric; and that the Kings of Kent were named Esings (Æscings) after him.

The evidence of these Scottish historians as to the existence of a second Octa, is equally important with that of the Frisian tradition of a second Hengest; it shows how the recurrence of the same names in this family has given rise to the confusion which exists with regard to the ancestry of Eormenric, and enables us to complete the restoration of this genealogy. The conflicting statements of our different authorities appear in the table subjoined:—

| <i>Nennius.</i> | <i>Text. Roff.</i> | <i>Æthelweard.</i> | <i>Florence.</i> | <i>Bæda.</i>             |
|-----------------|--------------------|--------------------|------------------|--------------------------|
| Hengest.        | Hengest.           | Hengest.           | Hengest.         | Hengest.                 |
| Octha.          | Ooga.              | Eæc-Octa.          | Ooga vel Oric.   | Oeric-Oisc. <sup>1</sup> |
| Ossa.           | Eosa.              |                    | Oesa vel Oisc.   | Octa.                    |
| Eormoric.       | Eormiric.          | Eormenric.         | Eormenring.      | Irminric.                |

Æthelweard, it will be seen, agrees with Nennius, adding that Octa had also the name of Æsc; and in this he is supported by the 'Scalæ Chronicon,' which informs us that Arthur's antagonist, (whom Boece calls Octa, and who is certainly the person whom the English Chronicle and Henry of Huntingdon call Æsc), was named Octa and Osa. He omits the name of his son, but there can be no doubt that it was Ossa, who, as Henry of Huntingdon says, reigned between Æsc and Eormenric, and whose name occurs in this succes-

<sup>1</sup> This Oeric-Oisc of Ven. Bæda is something like Asser's *Ængodwulf*.



sion in the *Textus Roffensis*, and in the double pedigree which Florence of Worcester gives.

Florence appears to have had the two distinct descents before him; one the same as that of Nennius, *Hengest, Ocga, Oesa, Eormenring*; the other, *Hengest, Oric, Oisc*; and, not knowing how to reconcile them, has adopted the expedient of writing *Ocga vel Oric, Oesa vel Oisc*. Oeric and Oisc belong to the first Hengest; their names certainly followed his in the genealogy; and although Bæda has represented them as borne by the same person, I suspect that they were, as they appear in Florence's tables, those of a son and grandson.

Hengest I. had also a son Octa, who came to Britain soon after him, and, with occasional interruptions, reigned in Northumbria until A.D. 466, when he fell in battle near Verulam; but Octa and Ossa of the genealogy belong to Hengest II. This Octa, generally called Æsc, succeeded the first Octa in Northumbria, and on the death of Hengest II., in the following year, relinquished it in favour of Colgrim, and reigned in Kent thenceforward until A.D. 491.

In the accompanying table, the conflicting statements are attempted to be reconciled as follows:—The descent from Woden to Hengest I. is that upon which all authorities are agreed; that from Hengest II. to Eormenric is derived from Nennius; and the connecting link Swane, is supplied by the Frisian tradition. Eormenric, the 8th descendant from Woden, appears one degree higher than Theoderic the Ostrogoth, and in the same degree as Hildigisl the Longobard, his contemporaries.

Our authorities are accordant, with regard to the East Anglian dynasty, as far as the name of Tytla's son Eni. Bæda notices particularly only the family of Eni's brother Rædwald, and 3 of Eni's sons; and

Florence represents Aldwulf and Ælfwald as sons of one of these, Æthelhere. Nennius and the *Textus Roffensis* take up the line of another son of Eni; the former concluding it with the name of Elric, otherwise unknown; the latter with that of Ælfwald, both agreeing as to the parentage of Aldwulf.

| <i>Nennius.</i> | <i>Textus Roffensis.</i> | <i>Florence.</i> |
|-----------------|--------------------------|------------------|
| Casser.         | Caser.                   | Casere.          |
| Titinon.        | Tytiman.                 | Tytmon.          |
| Trigil.         | Trygil.                  | Trygils.         |
| Rodmunt.        | Hrodmund.                | Hrothmund.       |
| Bippa.          | Hryp.                    | Hryp.            |
| Guilhelm.       | Wilhelm.                 | Wilhelm.         |
| Guecha.         | Wehh.                    | Wewa or Wehha.   |
| Guffa.          | Wuffa.                   | Wuffa.           |
| Tidil.          | Tytla.                   | Tytla.           |
| Eeni.           | Erri.                    | Eni.             |
| Edric.          | Ætherric.                | Æthelhere.       |
| Aldul.          | Aldulf.                  | Aldulf. Ælfwold. |
| Elric.          | Ælfwold.                 |                  |

It is certainly more probable that Ælfwald, who died in A.D. 749, was the grandson of Æthelric, than that he was the son of Æthelric's brother, who died in A.D. 664. In this genealogy, Nennius supplies us with valuable information which we have not elsewhere; saying of Guecha, "he first reigned in Britain over the nation of the East Angles."

Later chroniclers differ from Nennius in inserting four generations between Eomaer and Pybba in the Mercian line. I have already deduced from *Beowulf* a confirmation of his accuracy in this respect, and the life of S. Guthlac, written in the 8th century, supplies another. It is there said, that S. Guthlac was "of the oldest and noblest family in Mercia, who were called Iclings;" and if Æthelbald, who was King of Mercia when this life was written, had been an Icling, the author would certainly not have passed over the fact of S. Guthlac's having been of his family. The Iclings,

therefore, were not then in possession of the throne of Mercia, and Wybba was not of their line.

| <i>Nennius.</i> | <i>Text. Roff.</i> | <i>Engl. Chron.</i> | <i>Florence.</i> |
|-----------------|--------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| Guedolgeat.     | Weodegeot.         |                     | Weoethelgeat.    |
| Gueagon.        |                    |                     | Waga.            |
| Guithleg.       | Withlæg.           | Wihthlæg.           | Wihthlæg.        |
| Guermund.       | Weremund.          | Wærmund.            | Wærmund.         |
| Offa.           | Offa.              | Offa.               | Offa.            |
| Ongen.          | Angelgeot.         | Angeltheow.         | Angengeat.       |
| Eamer.          | Eomer.             | Eomær.              | Eomær.           |
|                 | Icel.              | Icel.               | Icil.            |
|                 | Cnebba.            | Cnebba.             | Cnebba.          |
|                 | Cynewald.          | Cynewald.           | Cynewald.        |
|                 | Creoda.            | Creoda.             | Creoda.          |
| Pubba.          | Pybba.             | Pybba.              | Pybba.           |

As Creoda was King of the Mercians before Wybba, I think it probable that these four names represent a collateral descent. Nennius tells us that Pubba had 12 sons, and of one of these, Penda, we know more on his authority than on that of any other of our historians.

In the Deiran genealogy, I suspect that Nennius has fallen into an error, in placing at the head of the line the ancestors of the Bernicians and West Saxons, Bældæg and Brond, instead of their own Wægdæg.

| <i>Nennius.</i> | <i>Text. Roff.</i> | <i>Engl. Chron.</i> | <i>Henry Hunt.</i> | <i>Florence.</i> |
|-----------------|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| Beldeyg.        | Wægdæg.            | Wægdæg.             | Wepdeg.            | Wægdæg.          |
| Brond.          |                    |                     |                    |                  |
| Siggar.         | Siggar.            | Sigegar.            |                    | Siggar.          |
|                 | Swæbdæg.           | Swæbdæg.            |                    | Swæbdæg.         |
|                 | Siggeot.           | Sigegeat.           | Sigegeat.          | Siggæt.          |
| Sebald.         | Sæbald.            | Sæbald.             | Seabald.           | Sæbald.          |
| Zegulfh.        | Sæfugal.           | Sæfugel.            | Sefugil.           | Sæfugol.         |
|                 |                    |                     |                    | Swæta.           |
| Soemil.         | Seomel.            |                     |                    | Seomel.          |
| Sguerthing.     | Westerwalcna.      | Westrefalcna.       | Westrefalcna.      | Westorwalcna.    |
| Guilglia.       | Wiilgling.         | Wilgils.            | Wilgils.           | Wilgels.         |
| Uscfrea.        | Wuscfoea.          | Uscfrea.            | Uscfrea.           | Wyscfrea.        |
| Iff.            | Yffe.              | Yffe.               | Iffa.              | Yffe.            |
| Ulle.           | Ælle.              | Ælle.               | Ella.              | Ealle.           |

Swæbdæg and Sigegeat I take to be collateral names. Swæta, for which Florence is the only authority, is

evidently the result of a mistake on his part. Finding the name Swerting after Seomel, he took it for a patronymic, indicating that his father was Swerta. But Swerting is not a patronymic here; it appears in Beowulf as a proper name, and under circumstances which render it probable that the person who bore it was the same as this; it occurs twice in a genealogy given by Langhorffe; and probably it was very common, for in the eleventh century we find it borne by two of the Law-men of the city of Lincoln, sons respectively of Harthacnut and Grimbald. In this genealogy, again, Nennius supplies valuable information; saying of Soemil, "he first overcame (or separated) Deira and Bernica."

In the Bernician genealogy the Chronicle and Florence introduce Brand, the ancestor of the West Saxons:—

| <i>Nennius.</i> | <i>Text. Roff.</i> | <i>Engl. Chron.</i> | <i>Florence.</i> |
|-----------------|--------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| Beldeg.         | Bældæg.            | Bældæg.             | Bældeæg.         |
|                 |                    | Brand.              | Brand.           |
| Beornec.        | Beornic.           | Beonoc.             | Beorn.           |
|                 |                    |                     | Beornd.          |
| Geohbrond.      | Wægbrand.          |                     | Wægbrand.        |
|                 | Ingebrand.         |                     | Ingebrand.       |
| Aluson.         | Alusa.             | Aloc.               | Alusa.           |
|                 | Angelgeot.         | Angenwit.           | Angengeat.       |
| Inguec.         |                    | Ingwi.              | Ingengeat.       |
| Ædibrith.       | Æthelberht.        |                     | Æthelbryht.      |
| Ossa.           | Eosa.              | Esa.                | Oesa.            |
| Eobba.          | Eoppa.             | Eoppa.              | Eoppa.           |
| Ida.            | Ida.               | Ida.                | Ida.             |

Beornec, the second name in Nennius' list, is evidently the Eponymus of this race, the Beornicas; the Textus Roffensis supports Nennius; Beonoc in the Chronicle, and Florence's Beorn and Beornd, are false readings of the same. Ingebrand may be a collateral name. Angelgeot in the Textus Roffensis, Angenwit in the Chronicle, Angengeat and Ingengeat in Florence, appear to be variations of one name, Ingwi or Ingwingeat.

In the West Saxon genealogy, regarding which Nennius is silent, our oldest authority is a pedigree, in the *Textus Roffensis*, ending with Ine, and, therefore, of the 8th century; supported, where it differs from those in the *English Chronicle*, by the testimony of Asser:—

| <i>Text. Roff.</i> | <i>Asser.</i> | <i>Engl. Chron.</i>  |                         |               |
|--------------------|---------------|----------------------|-------------------------|---------------|
|                    |               | <i>CCC. clxxiii.</i> | <i>A. vi. and B. i.</i> | <i>B. iv.</i> |
| Bældæg.            | Belde.        | Bældæg.              | Bældæg.                 | Bældæg.       |
| Brand.             | Brond.        | Brand.               | Brand.                  | Brand.        |
|                    |               | Frithogar.           | Frithogar.              | Frithogar.    |
|                    |               | Freawine.            | Freawine.               | Freawine.     |
|                    |               | Wig.                 | Wig.                    |               |
| Gewis.             | Gewis.        | Gewis.               | Gewis.                  | Gewis.        |
|                    |               | Esla.                | Esla.                   |               |
| Aluca.             | Elesa.        | Elesa.               | Elesa.                  | Elesa.        |
| Cerdic.            | Cardic.       | Cerdic.              | Cerdic.                 | Cerdic.       |
| Creoda.            | Creoda.       |                      | Creoda.                 | Creoda.       |
| Cyneric.           | Cyneric.      | Cyneric.             | Cyneric.                | Cyneric.      |

To the lists which these authorities supply, all the MSS. of the *Chronicle* add the probably collateral names of Frithogar and Freawine, and most those of Wig and Esla; but all, except the most ancient (the *Corpus Christi*, Cambridge, MS.), agree with them, under A.D. 849, in inserting the name of Creoda between those of Cerdic and Cyneric, and this is very important.

Gewis, we may observe, is the Eponymus of this race, as Beornec of the Beornicas.

The *Textus Roffensis* gives a second genealogy, extending to the sons of Eadgar; evidently a distinct document, derived from some other source. It agrees with that stated in the MS. of the *Chronicle*, Tiberius B. i.

Florence of Worcester and Henry of Huntingdon are the only authorities for the genealogy of the East Saxons:—

|                  |               |
|------------------|---------------|
| <i>Florence.</i> | <i>Henry.</i> |
| Seaxnete.        | Saxnat.       |
| Geseæg.          | Andesc.       |

|                  |               |
|------------------|---------------|
| <i>Florence.</i> | <i>Henry.</i> |
| Antsecg.         | Gesac.        |
| Swæppa.          | Spoewe.       |
| Sigefugel.       | Sigewlf.      |
| Bedca.           | Biedcan.      |
| Offa.            | Offa.         |
| Æscwine.         | Erchenwin.    |
| Sledda.          | Slede.        |

They agree as to the number of descents, but differ as to the order in one instance, and as to the names in others.

The *Textus Roffensis* and *Florence* agree in their statements of the genealogy of the *Lindisfaras*:—

|                    |                  |
|--------------------|------------------|
| <i>Text. Roff.</i> | <i>Florence.</i> |
| Winta.             | Winta.           |
| Cretta.            | Cretta.          |
| Cwædgils.          | Qweldgils.       |
| Cædbæd.            | Cædbæd.          |
| Bubba.             | Bubba.           |
| Beda.              | Beda.            |
| Biscop.            | Biscop.          |
| Eanferd.           | Eanferth.        |
| Eata.              | Eatta.           |
| Aldfrid.           | Raldfrith.       |

We have no direct means of comparing this genealogy with the rest, nor of testing its accuracy, because the persons named herein are quite unknown in history. Its accuracy, however, may be inferred from the following considerations:—

A genealogy of *Lindisfaras*, deduced from *Woden*, indicates a kingdom of *Lindissi* in the earliest age of the domination of the *Angles* in *Britain*. Yet it is certain that this kingdom had been absorbed into that of *Deira*, by conquest or otherwise, early in the 7th century. It is evident from *Bæda's* story of *S. Paulinus'* mission, that *Eadwine* was its sovereign about A.D. 630; and *Blæcca*, the chief man of the province, was only prefect of *Lincoln*; the dominions of *Oswine*, king of *Deira*, must have extended into *Northamptonshire*, for

the place where he had assembled his forces to repel the invasion of Oswine was certainly Wilbarston, nearly 10 miles north-west of Kettering;<sup>1</sup> and, even after Wulfhere had shaken off the Northumbrian yoke, Alhfrith, king of Deira, granted lands at Stamford to S. Wilfrid, A.D. 660. So in the days of Eadwine the kingdom of the Lindisfaras had passed away, and Aldfrith, whom we may regard as their last king, stands in the same degree of descent from Woden as Ælle, Eadwine's father. There is no authority, now extant, for representing Blæcca as belonging to this line; but we must not forget that many MSS. have perished since Smith published his edition of *Bæda*. If he were a son of Aldfrith, he would stand in the same degree of descent as Eadwine. Possibly he is represented by Blæcmon, a descendant of Woden in the same degree, through Ida, and a contemporary of Eadwine.

The Danish genealogy, in the *Langfedgatal*, gives us 20 generations down to Ragnar Lodbrok.

Odenn; Skioldr, h. s.; Fridleifr, h. s.; Fridfrode, h. s.; Fridleifr, h. s.; Havare Handrami, h. s.; Frode, h. s.; Varmundr Vitri, h. s.; Olafr Litillate, h. s.; Danr Mikillate; Frode Fridsæmi, h. s.; Fridleifr; Frode Fækni, h. s.; Ingialdr (Starkadar fostri), h. s.; Halfdan; brodir hans; Helgi oc Roar, hans synir; Hrolfr Kraki, Helga son; Hærekr Hnaviggvanbaugi, Ingialds son; Frode, h. s.; Halfdan, h. s.; Hærekr Slavngvanbaugi, h. s.; Haralldr Hilditavn, h. s.; Sigurdr Hringr; Ragnar Lodbrok, h. s.

Ragnar, then, appears to be one degree lower than the sons of the West-Saxon Æthelwulf, who were strictly his contemporaries; but we observe that Dan is

<sup>1</sup> In the information supplied to *Bæda*, the similarity of the names Kettering and Catterick has been the occasion of confounding one with the other. *Wilfarasdon*, he says, was about ten miles north-west of *Cataracton*. It has been sought in vain near Catterick; but Wilbarston is in the direction indicated from Kettering, and nearly the distance.

not called the son of Olaf, nor Fridleif III. the son of Frode (though he is so called in the *Ynglinga Saga*), nor Sigurd the son of Harald.

It is evident that a correct genealogy cannot be deduced from the *Ynglinga Saga*; for the notices it contains of contemporary Danish kings show that kings must have been erroneously fathered upon their predecessors in some instances. Fiolner, the 2nd of this line, was contemporary with Fridfrode, the 3rd of the Danish; and it is said that Domar the 7th married the sister of Dan, the 9th of the Danish. In the 4th degree after Domar we have Alric and Eric, the latter of whom is said to have married Dag's daughter, Dagrid; so that it is more probable that Agne was a brother, than that he was the son, of Dag. Again, under the reign of On, the 7th from Domar, we are told that during these 7 generations, and the 2 intermediate reigns of Alf and Hugleik, Dan, Frode his son, and Fridleif and Halfdan his grandsons, reigned in Denmark; 7 generations in the Swedish line, and 9 reigns, corresponding to 4 in the Danish. Evidently there is something other than genealogical here.

Egil made a treaty with Frode Fækni; Egil's son, Ottar, perished in conflict with Frode; Ottar's son, Adils, was at war with Helge, Frode's grandson; and Hrolf Kraki, Helge's son, perished during the reign of Eystein; so that for 4 generations these lines are exactly parallel. For the rest, the Swedish succession appears to be one degree in excess of the Danish, which is not inconsistent with probability.

It has seemed requisite to enter into these particulars, in order to show that this genealogy cannot fairly be collated with the rest. Indeed, it cannot claim to be considered of equal authority, for it is presented to us, for the first time, in a work of the 13th century, whilst those we have had under consideration



come to us on the authority of writers of the 5th, 8th, 9th, and 10th; nor could the evidence of a single document outweigh that of so many others. Its chief value consists in this, that it coincides with and confirms the Danish genealogy, in that part which comprises the immediate descendants of Woden, and might be regarded as most open to suspicion; here and in the later part the succession of kings appears to be genealogical, as throughout it is probably historical; but there must be some interruption in the direct descent in the middle, at the very time, too, when a similar interruption is indicated in the Danish succession. I believe this was a real interruption; for nothing less than the supposition of an invasion and conquest can account for the extraordinary difference between the ornaments, and armour, and writing of what Mr. Worsaae calls the 1st and 2nd divisions of the late Iron Age in Denmark. He dates the 2nd division commencing about A.D. 700; I should be disposed to carry it a century higher, seeing that Olaf and Dan are in the same degrees respectively as Eormenric and Æthelberht of Kent, and Wybba and Penda of Mercia.

Now, placing these genealogies side by side, we find the result to be a remarkable vindication of their genuineness, and justification of our preference for the earliest authorities. The inequalities in the number of generations, as presented to us by later writers, disappear, and, in the 9th degree of descent from Woden, we find Æthelberht, Tytla, Penda, Ida, Cuthwine, and Sleda, all of whom were living in the latter half of the 6th century; whilst in the 8th degree, besides Eormenric, (whom we have noticed as being in the same degree of descent as his contemporary, Hildigisl), we have Wuffa, the father of Tytla; Wybba, who died A.D. 597; Eoppa, the father of Ida; Cutha, and his brother Ceawlin, who died respectively in A.D. 571 and 593;

and Æscwine, the father of Sleda. There are, in fact, no greater disparities in this earlier division of the genealogies than in the later, which is undoubtedly historical,—no greater in the whole series, proportionally, than we observe in the dates of the deaths of the grandsons of Æthelfrith of Bernicia, for example.

It is certain that an average of years, much less than the usually estimated number, will suffice for the generations of these early times. The Barbarians married much sooner than is usual now. It is no uncommon thing to meet in the Sagas with notices of warriors on the field of battle at the early age at which Arthur commenced his victorious career; even in his 13th year Eric Blodaxe received the command of a fleet, and sailed on his first expedition; Magnus Barfod was the father of Eystein at the age of 16, and some of the Merovingian kings were fathers at 15; and we may well believe that Goths and Angles, in the 4th and 5th centuries, followed much the same customs as Danes and Swedes in the 11th and 12th. In purely historic times the Anglo-Saxon genealogies prove that early marriage was the rule with our forefathers. Not to multiply instances, we will take examples from the West-Saxon genealogy, of which we know more than of any of the others. Æthelstan, the eldest son of Æthelwulf, died not later than A.D. 878, (if he was, as there is every reason to believe, S. Neot). Suppose him to have been 70 years old at that time, and Ceawlin, who died in A.D. 593, to have attained to the same age, the average of 11 generations is 26 years; although Cuthwine was a younger son of Ceawlin, and Ingild a younger son of Cœnred. Again, as S. Eadweard the Confessor was born in A.D. 1003, and as he was the 11th of the children of Æthelred, his eldest brother Eadmund Ironside could scarcely be born before A.D. 990. From Ælfred, born 849, to Eadmund, the average of 5 generations is 28

years, although Eadmund (the grandson of Ælfred,) was the 11th of Eadweard's children; Eadgar, the 2nd son of Eadmund; and Æthelred, the 2nd (or 3rd) son of Eadgar. From the birth of Ælfred to that of Edward I., Plantagenet, the average of 13 generations is exactly 30 years. The longer the series, the greater the chances of the succession being continued in the lines of younger sons, and, of course, the greater the average; but under unfavourable circumstances it will scarcely exceed 30 years; whilst under others, 27 or 28 will be sufficient.

Hengest came to Britain in A.D. 428, at which time he was the father of a warrior of full age, and of the maiden who became the wife of Vortigern; so that we may safely set down his age at about 45, and an average of 30 years would place the birth of Wecta about A.D. 290. The same average, reckoned from the births of Ælfred, A.D. 849, and Eadwine, A.D. 586, would place those of Bældæg in A.D. 309, and of Wægdæg in A.D. 286. In the case of Penda, born A.D. 576, a larger average would be required to bring the birth of Weothelgeat within reasonable limits of the same period; but we are expressly informed that Wærmund was far advanced in years when Offa was born, that Offa did not marry until a late period of his life, and that Penda, who came to the throne at the age of 50, 29 years after his father's death, had 11 brothers, of whom 9, probably, were older than himself; and in the collateral descent we seem to have an indication that an elder line had been supplanted by a younger. In fact, every one of these genealogies is perfectly consistent with the theory that Geat flourished in the latter half of the 1st century; that Woden was born about the middle of the 3rd, and his 30 sons during a period, of which the central point would be about A.D. 300; and that he commenced his migration about A.D. 325, and conquered Southern Russia and Germany in the years immediately following.

Presenting, then, as these genealogies do, so many remarkable parallels, they are surely entitled to be received in good faith. They are, in fact, witnesses, and, (seeing that they are entirely distinct and unconnected), unimpeachable witnesses, each to the truth and genuineness of the others. It cannot be believed that the Goths in Eastern, the Longobards in Central, and the Scandinavians in Northern Europe, could have invented so many genealogical series, as nearly coincident with our own as we could have expected to find them, even if we had been able to verify them historically in each successive degree. They are, therefore, substantially genuine, and Woden's place in history may be considered as probably determined.

I know it was the name of a god, but it was a name also borne by men. It occurs so frequently in neighbourhoods connected with the memory of Hors and Hengest,—Wodnesborough in Kent, Woodnesborough and the Wansdyke in Wiltshire, Wednesbury and Wednesfield in Staffordshire, Wansford in Northamptonshire, Wansford in Yorkshire, and Wansbeck in Northumberland,—that I am persuaded it was the name of one of their associates. There were Teutons in England before they came, and the Bishop of London whom Hengest slew, was Vodin; the same, perhaps, as the S. Woden to whose memory the church on Coquet Isle is dedicated. After the conversion of our fathers to Christianity, no doubt, the name fell into disuse, as well as that of Thunor, which appears once in the 1st century of our Christianity, in the history of Kent; but in later times both were revived, under Danish auspices. In the reign of Harthacnut, Thur was Ealdorman of Middle Anglia; in the days of Eadweard the Confessor, Othin and Thor were moneyers at York; Otin was witness to a deed executed by John, Prior of Hexham, A.D. 1189–94; and about the same time one

Thor granted land for the building of a church near Durham. In Scandinavia, Professor Stephens tells us their names frequently occur in charters down to the 16th century; and his grand work on Runic monuments presents us with a brooch of the 4th century, on which we can read, in perfectly legible characters, the names of Wodan and Thonar.

Our Woden bore a name which can be traced to an antiquity compared with which his age is but as yesterday. In the 6th century before our æra, amongst a race akin to our own, the Persians, we read it on the rock of Bisitun, the name of one of the conspirators who aided Darius in his acquisition of the Persian throne, *Utana* (Herodotus' 'Οτάνης). Ezekiel (xxvii. 19) records it as an ethnic name, (and these were the names of ancestors of races), in connection with Javan,—יָוָן וְיָדָן, *Vadan ve Javan*. An Assyrian tablet (W. A. Cun. Inscr. ii. 59. 8) tells us that one of the names of the god of war, (and gods were deified men,) was *Vadana*; and more remarkable still is the fact that the author of the civilization of Central America, derived undoubtedly from Central Asia, was another *Votan*.

## APPENDIX.

It may be useful to add as an Appendix to this Paper the genealogies referred to as contained in the *Textus Roffensis*. It will be observed, however, that they are rather of Mercian or Northumbrian, than Kentish, origin; indeed the Kentish genealogy from Hengest to Woden is the only one which presents any serious error. In other respects they are extremely valuable.

Hæ sunt Genealogiæ per partes in Britannia Regum Regnan.

|                       |                |                                  |                   |
|-----------------------|----------------|----------------------------------|-------------------|
| Eadwine. <sup>1</sup> | Weosterwalcna. | Swæbdæg.                         | Clapha . . . i.   |
| Ælle.                 | Seomel.        | Siggar.                          | Odda . . . viii.  |
| Yffe.                 | Sæfugal.       | Wægdæg.                          | Æthelric . . vii. |
| Wuscfreda.            | Sæbald.        | Woden Frealafing.                | Theodred . . vii. |
| Wilgilsing.           | Siggeot.       | Ida <sup>2</sup> regnavit an. x. | Osred . . . xi.   |

|                                               |                           |                       |
|-----------------------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| Theonred (Eanr) ii. Ceolwlf.                  | Item.                     | Celin.                |
| Osric . . . xi. Leodwald.                     | Alfrid. <sup>12</sup>     | Cynric.               |
| Ceolwlf . . . xi. Egwald.                     | Eata.                     | Creoda.               |
| Eadberht . . xxi. Eadelm.                     | Eanferd.                  | Cerdic.               |
| Oswlf . . . i. Ocg.                           | Bisceop.                  | Aluca.                |
| Æthelwald . vi. Idin.                         | Beda.                     | Giwis.                |
| Alrhed . . viii. Eadberh. <sup>6</sup>        | Bubba.                    | Brand.                |
| Æthelred . . iii. <i>Eata Leodwalding</i>     | Cædbæd.                   | Bældæg.               |
| Alfwold . . x. Item. Nordan.                  | Cwædgils.                 | <i>Woden Freala-</i>  |
| Osred . . . i. hymborum.                      | Cretta.                   | <i>sing.</i>          |
| Item Æthelred vii. Alrhed. <sup>7</sup>       | Winta.                    | Hæ sunt genea-        |
| Penda <sup>8</sup> regnavit Eanwine.          | <i>Woden Frealafing.</i>  | logis Regum           |
| an. . . . xxi. Byrnhom.                       | Freodowlf. <sup>13</sup>  | Occid. Saxo-          |
| Peada . . . i. Bofa.                          | Finn.                     | num.                  |
| Wulfhere . xvii. Blæchmon.                    | <i>Godwlf Eating.</i>     | Eadward & Ead-        |
| Æthelred . xxix. <i>Eadric Iding.</i>         | Æthelberht. <sup>14</sup> | mund & Æthel-         |
| Cenred . . . v. Item Merciorum.               | Withred.                  | red Æthelingas        |
| Ceolred . . . vii. Athelbald. <sup>8</sup>    | Ecgberht.                 | fuere Eadgar          |
| Athelbald . . xli. Alewig.                    | Ærconberht.               | Regis filii.          |
| Egfrid. <sup>4</sup>                          | Eadbald.                  | Eadgar. <sup>17</sup> |
| Oswio.                                        | Pybbi.                    | Eadmund.              |
| Æthelfrid.                                    | Æthered. <sup>9</sup>     | Eadward.              |
| Ætheric.                                      | Penda.                    | Ælfred.               |
| Ida.                                          | Pybba.                    | Athulf.               |
| Eoppa.                                        | Creoda.                   | Ecgberht.             |
| Eosa.                                         | Cynewald.                 | Ealhmund.             |
| Æthelberht.                                   | Cnebba.                   | Eava.                 |
| Angelgeot.                                    | Icel.                     | Eoppa Ingelding.      |
| Alusa.                                        | Eomer.                    | Ingeld fuit frater    |
| Ingebrand.                                    | Angelgeot.                | Item.                 |
| Wægbrand.                                     | Offa.                     | Inæ regis West-       |
| Beornic.                                      | Weremund.                 | sax. qui regna-       |
| Bældæg.                                       | Withlæg.                  | vit xxxvii. an-       |
| <i>Woden Frealafing.</i>                      | Weodegeot.                | nis. Is Monas-        |
| Item.                                         | <i>Woden Frealafing.</i>  | terium pulcher-       |
| Offa . . xxxix. Egfrid. <sup>10</sup> Offing. | Tytla.                    | rimum Glastoniæ       |
| Freodwald . vii. Offa.                        | Wuffa.                    | ædificavit et pos-    |
| Fussa . . . vii. Thingferd.                   | Wehh.                     | tea ivit ad S.        |
| Æthelfrid xxviii. Eanwulf.                    | Wilhelm.                  | Petrum ibique         |
| Eadwine . . xvii. Osmod.                      | Hryp.                     | mortuus requi-        |
| Oswald . . viii. Eopa.                        | Hrodmund.                 | escit. Hujus duo      |
| Osweo . xxviii. Pybba.                        | Trygil.                   | fratres fuere         |
| Egfrid . . . xv. Ceonwlf. <sup>11</sup>       | Tytiman.                  | Cenredi filii.        |
| Alfrid . . . xx. Cudberht.                    | Caser.                    | Cenred.               |
| Egfrid, eli dies.                             | <i>Woden Frealafing.</i>  | Ceolward.             |
| Cenwulf.                                      | Yne. <sup>16</sup>        | Cutha.                |
| Ceolwlf.                                      | Cenred.                   | Cudwine.              |
| Beornwulf.                                    | Ceolwold.                 | Ceawlin.              |
| Cudwine. <sup>5</sup>                         | Cudwulf.                  | Cynric.               |
|                                               | Cudwine.                  | Creoda.               |

|            |                          |           |                    |
|------------|--------------------------|-----------|--------------------|
| Cerdic.    | Brand.                   | Eata.     | Bedwig.            |
| Elesa.     | Bældæg.                  | Tethwa.   | Sceaf.             |
| Ela.       | <i>Woden Frealafing.</i> | Beaw.     | Sescef fuit filius |
| Gewis.     | Frealaf.                 | Scealdwa. | Nosæ Natus in      |
| Wig.       | Finn.                    | Heremod.  | aræd, etc.         |
| Freawine.  | Godulf.                  | Heraman.  |                    |
| Freodegar. | [Aliis Geta].            | Hadra.    |                    |

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## NOTES.

<sup>1</sup> Kadwine, king of Northumbria, A.D. 617-33; his descent from Woden.

<sup>2</sup> Ida and 4 successors, kings of Bernicia; after these should come Freodwald and 7 successors (placed after Offa, king of the Mercians), then Oored and his 11 successors, who follow here down to Æthelred, whose second reign commenced A.D. 790.

<sup>3</sup> Penda and 6 successors, kings of Mercia; 16 lines lower comes Offa, and 8 lines still lower Ecgrith and 3 successors to Beornwulf, A.D. 82-13. It is difficult to account for this confusion in the Northumbrian and Mercian successions.

<sup>4</sup> Ecgrith, king of Northumbria, A.D. 670-85; his descent from Woden.

<sup>5</sup> Cuthwine, father of Cœnred, king of Northumbria, A.D. 716-8; his descent from Ida.

<sup>6</sup> Radberht, king of Northumbria, A.D. 737-58; his descent from Leodwald (see pedigree preceding).

<sup>7</sup> Alchred, king of Northumbria, A.D. 765-74; his descent from Ida.

<sup>8</sup> Æthelbald, king of Mercia, A.D. 716-55; his descent from Wybba.

<sup>9</sup> Æthelred, king of Mercia, A.D. 675-704; his descent from Woden.

<sup>10</sup> Ecgrith, king of Mercia, A.D. 794; } their descent from Wybba.

<sup>11</sup> Cœnwulf, " " A.D. 794-819; }

<sup>12</sup> Genealogy of the kings of the Lindisfaras, continued.

<sup>13</sup> To Eata or Geat.

<sup>14</sup> Æthelberht, king of Kent, A.D. 748-60; his descent from Woden.

<sup>15</sup> Ælfwold, king of East Anglia, A.D. 713-49; his descent from Woden.

<sup>16</sup> Ine, king of Wessex, A.D. 688-728; his descent from Woden.

The genealogies above seem to have been compiled in the 8th century; one name alone being mentioned (and that in the succession of kings, not in a genealogy), which belongs to the 9th. The following—

<sup>17</sup> Traces the descent of the Æthelings, sons of Radgar, from Sceaf, and therefore belongs to the reign of Radgar, A.D. 958-57.

## DOCUMENTS DISCLOSING A PASSAGE IN THE HISTORY OF THE TWYSDEN FAMILY.

COMMUNICATED BY THE LATE REV. L. B. LARKING, AND ILLUSTRATED BY THE REV. R. C. JENKINS, RECTOR OF LYMINGE, AND HON. CANON OF CANTERBURY.

### I.

1538. *Dispensation from Monastic Vows, and Licence to Thomas Bede, etc., from Archbishop Cranmer.*

THOMAS miseratione divina Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, Totius Anglie primas, et metropolitanus, ad infrascripta auctoritate parlamenti Anglie fulcitus: Dilecto nobis in Christo Thome Bede, nuper monacho soluti nunc monasterii divi Martini de Bello, Cicestremsi diocesi, ordinis sancti Benedicti presbytero, regularem vitam professso, Salutem gratiam et benedictionem. Cupientes te, ob tuorum exigentiam meritorum, favore prosequi gratioso, Tecum, ut religione quam professus es exire, et ad seculum te conferre, ac ibidem, de cetero, in veste secularis presbyteri vitam agere, necnon beneficium ecclesiasticum, etiam si curam habeat animarum, obtinere, libere et licite valeas et possis, auctoritate predicta dispensamus, contrariis religionis et canonum institutis non obstantibus quibuscunque.

Datum in manerio nostro de Lambeth, sub nostro sigillo ad facultates, duodecimo die mensis Junii, anno domini millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo octavo, et nostre consecrationis anno sexto.

ROGERUS TOUNESHEND, COMISS.

TO. HUGHES.



## II.

1538. *Confirmation of the above Dispensation by King Henry VIII. under the Great Seal.*

HENRICUS octavus, Dei gratia Anglie & Francie Rex, fidei defensor, Dominus Hibernie, & in terra supremum caput Anglicane ecclesie, Omnibus ad quos presentes litere pervenerint, salutem. Inspecimus quasdam literas dispensatorias presentibus annexas, quas, et singula in eis contenta, iuxta quendam actum inde in Parlamento nostro editum, ratificamus approbamus et confirmamus per presentes: Ita quod Thomas Bede, in dictis literis nominatus, omnibus & singulis in eisdem specificatis uti valeat & possit, libere & quiete, licite & impune, secundum vim formam & effectum earundem, impedimento quocumque in aliquo non obstante. In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasteriam, duodecimo die Junii, anno regni nostri. tricesimo.

VAUGHAN.

[Appended is the Great Seal.]

## III.

1538. *Grant of an Annual Pension to Thomas Bede.*

HENRICUS octavus, dei gratia Anglie & Francie Rex, fidei defensor, Dominus Hibernie, & in terra supremum caput Anglicane ecclesie, Omnibus ad quos presentes litere pervenerint, salutem. Cum nuper monasterium de Bello, in comitatu nostro Sussexie, iam dissolvatur, unde quidam Thomas Bede, tempore dissolucionis illius, & diu antea, monachus ibidem fuit; Nos, volentes rationabilem annualem pencionem sive promocionem condignam eidem Thome, ad victum exhibicionem & sustentacionem suam melius sustinendam provideri: Sciatis igitur, quod nos, in consideracione premissorum de gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa sciencia & mero motu nostris, per advisamentum & consensum Cancellarii & Consilii Curie Augmentacionum revencionum Corone nostre, dedimus & concessimus, ac per presentes damus & concedimus eidem Thome, quandam annuitatem sive annualem pencionem decem marcarum sterlingorum, habendum gaudendum & annuatim percipiendum easdem decem marcas, prefato Thome & assignatis suis, a festo Annunciacionis beate Marie Virginis ultimo preterito, ad ter-

minum & pro termino vite ipsius Thome, vel quousque idem Thomas ad unum vel plura beneficia ecclesiastica, sive aliam promocionem condignam, clari annui valoris decem marcarum aut ultra, per nos promotus fuit, tam per manus Thesaurarii revencionum Augmentacionum Corone nostre pro tempore existentis de thesauro nostro in manibus suis, de revencionibus predictis, remanere contingenti, quam per manus Receptoris exituum & revencionum dicti nuper monasterii pro tempore existentis, de eisdem exitibus & revencionibus, ad festa sancti Michaelis Archangeli, & Annunciacionis beate Marie virginis, per equales porciones solvendam. Eo quod expressa mencio de vero valore annuo, aut de certitudine premissorum sive eorum alicuius, aut de aliis donis sive concessionibus per nos prefato Thome ante hec tempora factis, in presentibus minime facta existit, aut aliquo statuto, actu, ordinacione, provisione, sive restriccionem in contrarium inde habito, facto, ordinato, seu proviso, aut aliqua alia re, causa, vel materia quacumque in aliquo non obstante. In cuius rei testimonium, has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste Ricardo Riche milite, apud Westmonasteriam, sexto die Julii, anno regni nostri tricesimo.

DUKE.

Per Cancellarium & Consilium Curie Augmentacionum revencionum Corone Regis, virtute Warranti regis.

Irrotulatum in officio Johannis Thomson auditoris &c. xv<sup>to</sup> die Novembris anno dni. 1559.<sup>1</sup>

[Appended is a fragment of the Seal of the Augmentation Office.]

*In dorso* :—"Allo<sup>m</sup> in S<sup>co</sup> int Recorda de Tm<sup>io</sup> s<sup>ce</sup> Triñ, anno primo Regine Marie, Ro Ex pte Remem Regine."

T. SAUNDER.<sup>2</sup>

*Also* :—"Irrot<sup>m</sup> in thesaur Re<sup>da</sup> dne regine Tmino pasche ano Regni sui primo."

[Here some illegible initials.]

<sup>1</sup> In a later hand and ink.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Thomas Saunder, Remembrancer of the Exchequer.

## IV.

## CARDINAL POLE TO THOMAS TWYSDEN.

1556. *Dispensation and Licence to act as executor to his Brother's Will.*

REGINALDUS, miseracione divina, Tituli Sancte Marie in Cosmedin, Sacrosancte Romane ecclesie Presbyter, Cardinalis Polus nuncupatus, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, totius Anglie Primas, et Apostolice sedis legatus natus, necnon ad illustrissimos in Christo Principes Philippum et Mariam, Francie et Hibernie Reges, fidei defensores, et universa Anglie et Hibernie regna, sanctissime domini nostri Pape, et eiusdem apostolice sedis, etiam de latere legatus : Dilecto in Christo filio Thome Twysden, diacono nostre Cantuariensis dioceseos, Salutem. Cum pro parte tua nobis fuerit humiliter expositum, quod tu olim ordine divi Benedicti Regularem professus, monasterio, in quo te dederas (vita tua comite) sub habitu regulari vitam transigere monasticam, et deo devote in eodem famulari, deleto penitus et extincto, quod reliquum tibi vite deus dederit, in seculo agere, auctoritate legitima fulcitus; proposuisti: Quodque ab hinc septennio, Willelmus Twysden frater tuus, antequam ab humanis eximeretur, suum condidit testamentum sive ultimam voluntatem, in qua te et dilectam filiam Elizabeth, tunc consortem, nunc relictam suam, fecit et constituit executores, magnam et precipuam educandorum liberorum suorum curam, et multorum priorum operum executionem, tibi, de singulari fiducia et fraterna pietate, curam commisit et concedidit exequendam: Verum cum, sacrorum Canonum constitutionibus huiusmodi institutionem et executionem vetantibus, tu onus tibi iniunctum libere, sine Juris offensa et conscientie scrupulo, absque nostri, superioris tui, licentia petita et obtenta, exequi non valeas; Nobis igitur supplicari fecisti, ut in gratiam et beneficium liberorum orphanorum eiusdem defuncti, ac aliorum piorum operum executionem et gratiam, testamentum et ultimam voluntatem huiusmodi libere et licite exequi et perimpleri valeas. Nos, petitionibus tuis graciose inclinati, ac orphanis et aliis miserabilibus personis, de pastoralis officii sollicitudine et clementia, consulere et perspicere in domino cupientes, ex premissis et aliis nobis expositis causis rationabilibus sancte inclinati, tibi ut premissis et aliis repugnantibus Juris impedi-

mentis non obstantibus, testamentum et ultimam voluntatem dicti tui fratris defuncti, iuxta et secundum mentem Testatoris, pie, sincere, libere, et licite, exequi et perimplere in omnibus, et per omnia, valeas et possis, auctoritate nostra ordinaria (quantum de Jure poterimus) licentiam impartimur, et harum serie dispensamus pariter et indulgemus, In contrarium facientibus non obstantibus quibuscunque. In cuius rei testimonium sigillum nostrum presentibus affigi fecimus. Datum in manerio nostro de Lambeth, xij<sup>o</sup> die Julii, anno domini, millesimo, quingentesimo, quinquagesimo sexto, et nostre consecrationis anno primo.

ANTHONIUS HUSE, Regfarius, R. iiij.

[Appended is the official seal of Cardinal Pole.<sup>1</sup>

It represents, in the upper part, the Almighty holding a cross, on which is the crucified Saviour, surmounted with the Dove. Over the Almighty's head appears in the clouds the Virgin crowned, with the infant Jesus in her arms; all under an arched canopy. On either side, each under an arched canopy, is a bishop, with the pall, staff, etc.

In the lower compartment of the seal are the arms of Cardinal Pole, viz.,—

Quarterly of 8:

1st, quarterly, France (3 lys) and England, over all a label of three points;

2nd, per pale, a saltire engrailed for Pole;

3rd, a saltire and a label of three points, for Nevil;

4th, a fess between six cross crosslets, for Beauchamp;

5th, chequy, a chevron ermine, for the old Earls of Warwick;

6th, 3 fusils in fess, for Montacute;

7th, an eagle displayed, for Monthermer;

8th, quarterly,—1st and 4th, 3 chevronels, for Clare,—2nd and 3rd, per cross, in the 2nd and 3rd quarters a fret, over all a bendlet, for Spencer.

The shield is surmounted with the Cardinal's cap, on the

<sup>1</sup> This magnificent seal was engraved for the late Mr. Streatfeild's contemplated History of Kent, and may be seen in Vol. III. Arch. Cant. (p. 141), to which the block was most kindly lent by Mrs. Champion Streatfeild. It is hoped that the engraving may soon reappear, in the place for which it was originally designed, the project for this History being revived under new auspices, as most of our readers are aware.

dexter of which is a shield with the arms of the Priory of Christ Church, and on the sinister a shield with the arms of the archiepiscopal see. The motto round the seal is "SIGILL .  
 "REGINALDI . POLI . CARDINAL . CAJ . ARCHIEPI . TOTIUS . ANGL .  
 "PRIMATI . APLICE . SEDIS . LEGATI . NATI."]

## V.

1557. *Cardinal Pole to his Vicar-General David Poole, Grant of Pardon, and Dispensation to Thomas Twysden alias Bede, on his recantation.*

REGINALDUS, miseratione divina, Tituli Sancte Marie in Cosmedin, Sancte Romane Ecclesie Presbyter, Cardinalis Polus, Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, sanctissimi domini nostri pape, et sedis apostolice, ad Serenissimos Philippum et Mariam Anglie Reges, et universum Anglie regnum, de latere legatus:—Discreto et nobis in Christo dilecto Davido Poole, in Archiepiscopatu Cantuariensi nostro in spiritualibus Vicario generali, Salutem in domino sempiternam. Ex parte Thome Twysden, alias Bede, diaconi nostre dioceseos, ordinis sancti Benedicti professoris, nobis expositum fuit, quod ipse,—post dissolutionem Monasterii de Battell eiusdem ordinis, Cicestrensi diocesi, (quod ingressus fuerat, et in quo, habitum per illius monachos gestari solitum suscipiens, professionem que ibi consuevit emitte regulare emiserat, et ad sacrum diaconatus ordinem promotus fuerat,) introducto hoc in regno perniciosissimo schismate factam,—absque apostolice sedis licentia, habitu suo regulari dimisso, et qui est clerici secularis assumpto, extra loca regularia per devia seculi vagatus fuit, et deinde, schismati prefato consentiens, domos, fundos, aliaque bona immobilia, secundum leges provisa auctoritate Parlamenti tum de facto editas, acquisivit, et per aliquot annos retinuit, schismatis et Apostasie reatu, necnon sententias, censuram, et penas contra tales latas damnabiliter incurrendo,—Cum autem, prout eadem subiungebat expositio, idem Thomas de premissis per eum commissis plurimum doluerit, et doleat de presenti, cupiatque ab illis, et censura ac penis propterea incursis, absolvi, et ecclesie unitati restitui, ac alias statui suo provideri; Nobis propterea humiliter supplicari fecit, quatenus sibi, de opportuno, super premissis, absolutionis et dispensationis remedio de benignitate apostolica providere

dignaremur.—Nos igitur, considerantes quod ad se redeuntibus gremium non claudit ecclesia, ac propter presentem ministrorum ecclesiasticorum hoc in regno defectum, aliasque rationabiles causas ad infrascripta concedenda moti, Discretioni tue, de qua in his et aliis plurimum confidimus, auctoritate apostolica nobis hac in nostra legatione concessa, et qua fungimur in hac parte, tenore presentium committimus, quatenus, si est ita, eadem auctoritate apostolica, dictum Thomam, cognita in eo vera et non ficta aut simulata penitentia, a quibusvis excommunicationis, suspensionis, et interdicti, aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis, censuris, et penis, a Jure vel ab homine, quavis premissorum occasione, in eum latis et promulgatis, etiam si eas per plures annos sustinuisset, et in eis insorduisset, necnon schismatis et Apostasie reatu, et excessibus hujusmodi, iniuncta inde sibi pro modo culpe penitentia salutaris, in forma ecclesie consueta, in utroque, conscientie, scilicet, et contentioso foro, plenarie absolvere et liberos; eumque unitati ecclesie restituas, [et] aliorum Christi fidelium consortio aggreges. Necnon cum eodem,—dummodo alioqui vite ac morum honestas, literarum scientia, aliaque laudabilia probitatis et virtutum merita, sibi suffragentur, super quo conscientiam tuam oneramus,—super irregularitate per eum, quavis premissorum occasione, contracta, quodque illa et premissis non obstantibus,—omnibus, tam minoribus quam sacris subdiaconatus et diaconatus, rite tamen et recte per eum susceptis, ordinibus uti, et ad sacrum presbyteratus ordinem, alias tamen rite et recte, ascendere, et donec regularia loca restaurata fuerint, seu alias ad sedis apostolice beneplacitum, extra loca regularia hujusmodi in honesta toga presbyteri secularis remanere, et alicui beneficio ecclesiastico Curato, de illud obtinentis consensu, deservire, et bona predicta que de presenti retinet, non tanquam propria, sed tantum in usum ad eius sustentationem concessa, administrare libere et licite possit et valeat, miseratione in domino dispenses; Ac omnem inhabilitatem et infamie maculam sive notam, ex premissis circa eum quomodolibet insurgentem, penitus aboleas, ipsumque in pristinum, et eum in quo ante premissa quomodolibet erat, statum plenarie restituas, reponas, et redintegres, Premissis, ac regula de insordescentibus, aliisque constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis, ceterisque contrariis, non obstantibus quibuscunque. Volumus autem quod idem Thomas de fructibus ex bonis hujusmodi provenientibus,

qui necessitatibus suis supererunt, eleemosynas, seu in pios usus erogationes facere teneatur; quodque bona prefata, post dicti Thome mortem, eius Monasterio prefato, vel religioni, vel in aliquem usum pium, arbitrio eius ordinarii pro tempore existentis, applicentur.—Datum Grenewichi, Roffensi diocesi anno a nativitate domini Millesimo, quingentesimo, quinquagesimo, septimo, Duodecimo Kal. Martii, Pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri, domini Pauli, divina providentia Pape, Quarti, anno Secundo.

REG. CAR<sup>LIS</sup> POLUS, LEG.

Exposuit decem solidos pro  
scriptura et expensis.

M. ANTONIUS FAITA, cecr.

JO. JORDANUS.

[Sealed with the Privy Seal of Cardinal Pole, bearing the same arms as in the last, and surmounted by the Cardinal's cap with this inscription:—"E. POLUS S. R. E. CAR. A LATERE . . . . . ATUS"—in a tin box—fastened with silk cord.]<sup>1</sup>

## VI.

### 1557. *David Pole's Execution of the preceding Warrant.*

DAVIDUS POLE, legum doctor, Reverendissimi in Christo patris et domini, domini Reginaldi, miseratione divina, tituli sancte Marie in Cosmedin, sancte Romane ecclesie Presbyteri, Cardinalis Poli, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi, totius Anglie Primatis, et apostolice sedis legati nati, necnon ad serenissimos in Christo Principes Philippum et Mariam Anglie Reges, et universum Anglie Regnum, sanctissimi domini nostri Pape, et eiusdem apostolice sedis, etiam de latere legati, Vicarius in spiritualibus generalis, et officialis Principalis, rite et legitime constitutus;—Dilecto nobis in Christo, Thome Twisden, alias Bede, diacono Cantuariensis dioceseos, diornis sancti Benedicti professori, Salutem in auctore salutis. Literas commissionales dicti Reverendissimi patris, sigillo suo ad facultates, in quadam capsula stannea, cera rubea, cum filis sericis coloris rubri, incluso sigillatas, ac per te

<sup>1</sup> Both the seal and a facsimile of the autograph were engraved for Mr. Streatfeild, and are given, by the same favour as the former and larger seal, in our Third Volume, *l. c.*

nobis presentatas nuper, cum omni reverentia debita recepimus, sub eo qui sequitur verborum tenore.

[Here the Dispensation is cited verbatim as above.]

Quantum quidem literarum commissionalium onus, ob tanti reverendissimi patris committentis honorem et reverentiam, in nos assumentes, ac iuxta eorum continentia rite procedentes, Quia comperimus te prenominatum Thomam Twysden omnia et singula, pro parte tua, prefato reverendissimo patri exposita et suggesta, in dictis literis commissionalibus contenta et specificata, perpetrasse et commisisse, ac de eis ex animo dolere, et apertis lacrimis ea deplorare, (cognita in te vera et non ficta aut simulata penitentia);—Igitur, te prefatum Thomam (primitus de peragendo penitentiam, a nobis, pro commissis et delictis tuis in dictis literis commissionalibus expressatis, rite et salubriter tibi iniunctam, ad sancta dei evangelia per te corporaliter tacta rite iuratum) a quibusvis excommunicationis, suspencionis, et interdicti, aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis, censuris, et penis, a Jure vel ab homine, quavis premissorum occasione, latis et promulgatis, etiamsi eas per plures annos sustinueris, et in eis insordueris, Necnon schismatis et apostasie reatu, et excessibus per te premissorum occasione incursis, in utroque, conscientie scilicet, et contentioso, foro, auctoritate apostolica nobis in hac parte commissa, harum serie, plenarie absolvimus et liberamus; teque unitati ecclesie restituimus, et aliorum Christi fidelium consortio aggregamus. Necnon tecum (de cuius vite ac morum honestate, literarum scientia, aliisque laudabilibus probitatis et virtutum meritis, ex fidedignorum testimonio informamur)—super irregularitate per te quavis premissorum occasione contracta, quodque illa et premissis non obstantibus, —omnibus, tam minoribus, quam sacris subdiaconatus et diaconatus (rite tamen et recte) susceptis ordinibus uti, et ad sacrum presbyteratus ordinem (alias tamen rite et recte) ascendere, et (donec regularia loca restaurata fuerint, et alias ad Sedis apostolice beneplacitum) extra loca regularia hujusmodi in honesta toga presbyteri secularis remanere, et alicui Beneficio ecclesiastico curato (de illud obtinentis consensu) deservire,—ac domos, fundos, et alia bona immobilia, secundum leges provisa auctoritate Parliamenti huius incliti Regni Anglie nuper de facto editas, per te acquisita, et que de presenti retines, non tanquam propria, sed tantum in usum ad tui sustentationem concessa, administrare,—libere et licite possis et



valeas, eadem auctoritate apostolica nobis in hac parte commissa iuxta omnem vim, formam, et effectum literarum commissionalium hujusmodi, misericorditer in domino dispensamus; ac omnem inhabilitatem, et infamie maculam sive notam, ex premissis circa te quomodolibet insurgentem, a te penitus abolemus, Teque in pristinum, et in eum in quo ante premissa quomodolibet eras, statum plenarie restituimus, reponimus, et redintegramus, premissis, ac regula de insordescitibus, aliisque constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis, ceterisque contrariis non obstantibus quibuscunque.

Volumus autem quod tu de fructibus ex bonis hujusmodi provenientibus, qui necessitatibus tuis supererunt, pauperibus elemosinas facias, seu eos in alios pios usus convertas, super quibus conscientiam tuam coram altissimo oneramus,—Quodque bona prefata post mortem tuam prefato monasterio de Battell, vel religioni, aut in aliquem pium usum, arbitrio Ordinarii tui pro tempore existentis, applicentur. In cuius rei testimonium Sigillum Archiepiscopale dicti Reverendissimi patris presentibus est appensum. Datum vicesimo die mensis Maii, anno domini millesimo, quingentisimo, quinquagesimo, septimo.

[Appended is the same official seal, as that to the licence to act as executor to William Twysden's will, described above.]

## VII.

1584. *The Nuncupative Will of Thomas Twysden, of Wye.*

THE wordes which Maister Thomas Twysden spake last in the hearinge of us whose names are underwritten, weare thes,—viz,—“I wooll my nephew Tuisden shoulde be my executor,” Uppon hearinge of which wordes by me Rycharde Deringe, I called Mr. Roger Twisden and Mr. Charles Scott, and tolde them what he had saide;—and, after some other wordes, I Rycharde Dearinge spake unto the saide Thomas Twisden, in this sorte,—viz,—“Then it is your will, that my brother “Twisden shoulde be your executour, and administer your “goodes”?—he answered, “Yea”:—And this is the effecte

(as farr as we remember) that then was spoken, abowte three daies before his deathe.<sup>1</sup>

RYCHARDE DERING.  
CHARLES SCOTT.

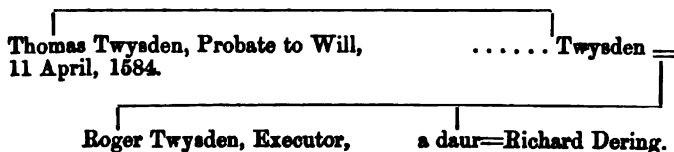
Probatum fuit pñs suprascriptū testa<sup>m</sup> nuncupativum coram Magro Matheo Bourne chico deputato nro in hac pte ltime constituto undecimo die mensis Aprilis anno dni Millimo quingen<sup>o</sup> octogesimo quarto Juramentis Charoli Scott armigeri et Thome Chapman testiū in hmoi testa<sup>o</sup> nominatorū.—Onusq, executionis eiusdem commissum est Rogero Twysden executori in suprascripto testamento nominato—pmitus in psona magri Johannis Edwardes no<sup>ti</sup> pub<sup>d</sup> eius procuratorē rite et ltime jurat. de bene et fideliter pimplend dēu testamentū.—In cuius rei testimoniū sigillū offitii nri pntibus apponi fecimus. Datum, die mense et anno dñi pdcis.

[Appended is the official seal, with this inscription "Sigillum officialitatis archiepiscopi Cantuan."—Under the central device is "15. S L. 81."]

(Copied literatim from the original probate etc. at Roydon Hall—January 27, 1834.—L. B. L.)

THE above documents were placed in my hands by our lamented friend Mr. Larking, that I might connect and illustrate them for our Annual Volume. They relate to a family which has to his friends a twofold and peculiar interest; for he, whose portrait of the great Sir Roger Twysden is among the most precious of the works with which he enriched our pages, was also allied to that family in the dearest relations of life.

<sup>1</sup> Pedigraic matter to be collected from the above Will and Probate.



Roger Twysden, of Wye, married in 1536 Jane, daughter of Christopher Cooper, and had two sons; William, whose marriage with Elizabeth, heiress of Thomas Roydon, of Roydon Hall in East Peckham, made him the possessor of that estate, which till the memory of our older readers was the principal seat of the family; and Thomas, the subject of these lines, who became a Benedictine monk in the Abbey of Battle. At this period the destination of a second son, in whom the military propensity was not largely developed, was naturally the Church, either in its regular or secular establishment; and the great Abbey "De Bello" presented not only the advantage of a near neighbourhood but of a close connection with the town of Wye, his residence, the manor of which was among the earliest properties of the Great Norman Monastery. Such a foundation offered a worthy retreat to the younger members even of the greatest families, while the depressed estate of the secular clergy, whose best endowments were absorbed by the Monastic Orders, presented but little attraction.<sup>1</sup> Thomas Twysden does not appear to have proceeded beyond the order of the deaconate, when the long-threatened blow fell upon the Monastic system in England, and after the significant warning given by the suppression first of the alien and then of the lesser priories, the great Abbey of Battle was added to the "*spolia opima*" of the Augmentation Office.

In order fully to appreciate the documents which relate to our secularized Benedictine, who had with becoming regard to his Saxon name, taken "in religion" the designation of "Thomas Bede," we ought to endeavour, if possible, to realize the position of a monk thus forcibly emancipated from the three great

<sup>1</sup> The Synod of Mentz in 1261 complains that few churches in Germany could support their parish priests, so completely had the monks absorbed their revenues.

vows which constitute the monastic obligation. The great and paramount vow of Chastity might, of course, be obeyed under any circumstances, and without any of the restraints of conventual life. But the two remaining vows, those of Poverty and Obedience, would become impossible in a state in which the very efforts to subsist must create the dreaded evil of "property," and the absence of a monastic superior must render obedience impossible. In such a case the "*forum contentiosum*" would clearly assert the great principle of all law, "No one is bound to an impossibility," though the conscience would hardly be able to acquiesce in its decision; and the only remedy of a conscience thus perplexed would be the Dispensing power. We are accustomed to abuse the system of dispensations which prevailed in the Mediæval Church, and regarding them as the "step-mothers of law" and the "wounds of law," as they are popularly termed by their adversaries, to forget that in the case of a bad law or an unlawful vow they are rather the remedy than the disease,—that they wound in order to heal. The more enlightened casuistry of the modern Roman Church would hardly affirm the necessity of a dispensation to hold property in a case in which it had become impossible not to hold it. The civil law rules "*Rei impossibilis nulla est obligatio*," and our own great Bishop Sanderson affirms accordingly, "*cessante voti materiâ, cessat simul ejusdem obligatio*."<sup>1</sup>

And here, as the subject matter of the oath was gone, viz. the support stipulated by the community, and the rule exercised by the superior, the obligation would naturally fail also. A clear parallel is presented to us in the case of a monk expelled from a convent, which has been much discussed by later Roman casuists. Pope Benedict puts it thus:—"Theologians and canonists have greatly disputed whether those cast out of a re-

<sup>1</sup> 'De Juramenti Obligatione,' Præl. vii.

ligious order are bound by the fundamental vows of religion,—namely, chastity, poverty, and obedience;” and he concludes that “though they are bound by the vow of chastity, the two other vows must be greatly moderated in practice. For the vow of poverty which might be kept in the cloister could not be kept where the support of daily life is to be obtained; nor yet obedience to a superior when any one is expelled from the body and society of the order over which he rules.”<sup>1</sup> It was unlikely, however, that such considerations should present themselves at this earlier period, and we cannot wonder that the released monk had recourse to the dispensing power, even though it had now devolved to heretical hands.

The Act of Parliament (25 Hen. VIII., cap. 21,) which resumed the dispensing power for the Crown, from which it had never been legally detached, is framed in the following terms:—“That the Archbishop and his commissary shall not grant any other licence, dispensation, faculty, etc., in causes unwont and not accustomed to be had at Rome . . . . until your Grace, etc. . . . shall first be advertised thereof and determine whether such licences shall pass or no;”—“and if it be determined by your Grace . . . that dispensations, etc. in any such case unwont shall pass, then the Archbishop or his commissary having licence of your Highness . . . shall dispense with them accordingly.” (§ 5.)

This law which forms the basis of Cranmer’s dispensation to Thomas Bede, enabling him to acquire and hold property, and to become a secular priest, suggests one or two preliminary questions which we will here present to the reader:—I. Was this one of the cases unwont which the Act refers to? II. What was the extent of the dispensing power then asserted for the Popes? III. What was the extent of that claimed by the Crown as succeeding to the dispensing power?

<sup>1</sup> Benedict. XIV.; de Synodo Diœces. l. xiii., c. xi., sec. 20.

I. It does not appear that this was a case in which the preliminary permission of the Crown was sought, the words of Cranmer merely referring to the Act of Parliament in general terms, "*ad infrascripta auctoritate parliamenti Angliæ fulcitus.*" It was not, therefore, a case unwont, and indeed must have had at this time very numerous precedents.

II. This reply leads us on to, and partly enables us to answer, our second inquiry, "What was at this time the extent of the dispensing power of the Popes?" The words of the Act point to a Roman usage much more moderate than that usually assigned to the Popes, and indicate that the dispensing power exercised in England was far more restricted than is generally alleged. The Postillator on the "Summa" of St. Raymond lays down the principle that a dispensation is either a *juris relaxatio* or a *juris declaratio*; and after stating the three views in regard to the dispensing powers then prevailing, concludes this to be the soundest view: "Papa non habet posse nec auctoritatem in votum relaxando jus; quia id non est ei subjectum; habet tamen potestatem quantum jus sibi dat; et ideo dispensare potest secundum quod dispensatio est juris declaratio." The idea of a "juris declaratio" depends, however, ultimately on the meaning which the oath may receive by means of the Papal interpretation and of the power to (in a manner) commute it by what is called by the decretalists the "*recompensatio majoris boni.*" In the ultimate dispensation of Thomas Bede by Cardinal Pole, it will be seen that it is granted on this ground. Cranmer's on the other hand proceeds only on the ground of favour and personal merit, "*ob tuorum exigentiam meritorum*" — not a very satisfactory reason; for the only merit which Thomas Bede could have possessed must have been his faithful observation of his triple vow, for which the reward given him was simply the

permission to break it; which rather resembles the schoolboy's reward of a whole holiday for working very hard at his lessons, than the recompense of a monk who is supposed to find his reward in the duty itself.

III. The third question we proposed, "How far was the dispensing power claimed by the Crown?" is one which was argued with much eagerness in the days when James II. began his alleged toleration under the pretext of his dispensing power. Among the many tracts which were written at that period on this subject two may be mentioned on the side of the dispensing power which have considerable interest, that of the famous Independent, Philip Nye,<sup>1</sup> whose "thanksgiving beard" is celebrated in 'Hudibras,' and one written by "an eminent Minister of State, lately deceased," printed in 1688, and entitled 'The King's right of Indulgence in Spiritual matters asserted.' This writer affirms that "the Pope granted indulgence to whomsoever he pleased, and in any spiritual matter whatever" at this time, and that the King was by the Act of Parliament "possessed and reinvested in his ancient right," and so succeeded to this unlimited power. Such an assertion might have been true of the period of the great schism when dispensations were in the worst state of corruption, but it is not true of the dispensing power as exercised in Rome in the days of the Poles, the Contarinis, and the Sadolets. The very words "causes unwont, and not accustomed to be had at Rome," sufficiently indicate the greater degree of restraint which was then exercised; while the limitation of the "postillator," *quantum jus sibi dat*, points to a limit of positive law, like that of the *quantum de jure poterimus* of Cardinal Pole's dispensation.

<sup>1</sup> "The King's authority in dispensing with Ecclesiastical Laws asserted and vindicated by the late Reverend Philip Nye, a Congregational divine." (London, 1687.)

We now proceed to examine these Dispensations more closely in regard to their bearing upon Thomas Bede's personal history. The merits to which Cranmer refers, and on the ground of which he dispenses, could clearly have been none other than the attachment he had shown to the doctrines of the Reformation, and the assistance which, as an influential member of a great monastic foundation, he must have been so well able to give to its work. Accordingly Cardinal Pole describes him as *schismati præfato consentiens*, and as guilty *schismatis et apostasiæ reatu*.<sup>1</sup>

Now the modes by which this "Apostasia" is established are either "dimittendo tonsuram—accipiendo uxorem—abjiciendo religionis vestem," or "redeundo ad sæculum." The two latter charges constituted Thomas Bede's irregularity, Cranmer's dispensation transferring him "ad sæculum," and permitting his use of the "vesture of a secular priest." But besides the "Apostasia" he is charged with schism. And here it is very remarkable that no act of abjuration of the schism (which the older canonists assume to be necessary in such a case) is required by Cardinal Pole as the condition of reconciliation. Whether this is to be assigned to the fact, that the regularity of the legal proceedings in the case of the English reformation made abjuration dangerous in the face of the principles of Royal Supremacy which Mary herself never fully surrendered, or to the necessity of exercising the greatest degree of prudence in the case of those who were voluntarily re-entering the Church of Rome,—the practice is

<sup>1</sup> The latter guilt is not, however, to be understood in the proper and ordinary sense of apostasy, but in that of a departure from and relinquishing of, monastic life. Apostasy according to the decretalists is a threefold crime, or rather has three branches—infidelity (*perfidia*), disobedience, and irregularity. The case of Thomas Bede was simply one of "irregularity," '*quod quis a statu sumptæ religionis recedit*.' 'Summa Raymundi de Schismate,' lib. i. tit. vii. sec. i.



certainly different from that which prevailed elsewhere at this time, and which has generally prevailed at a later period.

Still more notable is the fact, that though Thomas Bede had acquired such merits in the eyes of Cranmer and of the King, and had even been admitted to priest's orders (as appears by Cranmer's own words), he is not charged with heresy or required to recant any doctrine or teaching he may have been betrayed into during the eighteen years of his Reformed life. According to the precedent of Berengarius, *abjuration* is the necessary preliminary to reconciliation; and the fact that none is here required, and that no formula or declaration of faith is imposed, lead us to conclude that the controversies between the churches in regard to doctrine were not so seriously regarded then as they are now. We have referred to the facts that Thomas Bede had taken priest's orders in the reformed church, and that these are disallowed by Cardinal Pole, who only recognizes him as deacon, and permits him to ascend in due time to the order of the priesthood. And here we approach the delicate and difficult question, which belongs as much to the province of archæology as to that of dogma. Did the Church of Rome recognize the English orders at this early period? Now, here the decretalists speak plainly when they affirm that "a heretical bishop who receives Episcopal Orders *in the church* can confer orders, but not the executive power conveyed in them,"<sup>1</sup> (*i.e.* jurisdiction), so that Cranmer's ordination having been *in the church*, it would seem that the orders conveyed by him should have been admitted; and possibly Cardinal Pole's denial of the priesthood of Thomas Bede may have had rather respect to jurisdiction than to order. Yet the fact must not be dissembled that one of Pole's articles of Visitation, in regard

<sup>1</sup> 'Roffredus Canonista, ap. Raymund de Pennafort,' lib. i. tit. v. sec. vi.

to the ministers of the church was this "An ritè et rectè sint ordinati?" and though this may refer specially to the many who were ordained non-episcopally abroad, we cannot doubt that it extended to all who had not the Papal confirmation. For the Council of Trent was unanimous on this point when the Bishop of Aghadoe brought before it the case of the English orders, which (he asserted) had every element of a perfect ordination but this—and the fathers are said to have agreed with him in admitting the facts he alleged, and the conclusion to which he arrived, that the Papal confirmation was an integral part of ordination, and that the absence of it invalidated the sacrament. It may be said, indeed, on the other hand, that Cranmer had received the Papal confirmation in the fullest degree, to which the reply is obvious that as the condition of obedience on which it was given had failed, the privilege had become voided also. In any case it would appear that the orders Thomas Bede had received in the English Church were not recognized by the Legate.

We now come to consider the secularized monk as executor to his brother's will. William Twysden died on November 26th, 1549, and Cardinal Pope's dispensation is dated seven years after. This executorship involved the carrying out of the various charitable and pious dispositions of the testator, and the guardianship and management of the property of the orphan children. As the monastic vow of poverty precludes both the making of a will and the administration to one, this executorship of Thomas Bede constituted an important feature of his "irregularity,"—which had also proceeded so far that he had acquired a not inconsiderable property for himself, in lands, farms, etc.—in what manner it does not here appear. His reconciliation to the Church under these circumstances, and the terms of his

<sup>1</sup> 'Reginaldi Poli de Reformatione Angliæ Decret. XII.'

dispensation, have obviously a suspicious character, and indicate an anxiety to secure the "temporality" at the expense of his spiritual consistency, not to say sincerity. The condition which the Legate imposes, while it mercifully spares his life-interest, secures the "*recompensatio majoris boni*," by giving the reversion to the Church; in the fond hope that the monasteries would soon revive in all their glory, and that the returning of a genial Roman summer would bring back the monastic orders in all their varied plumage to their now desecrated nests. Vain hope! but one in which archæologists might well have shared.

The sin of possessing property or making a will involves the peril in the case of a monk of confiscation and a denial of Christian burial: "*Religiosi qui testamentum condiderunt tanquam rei criminis proprietatis Ecclesiastica careant sepulturâ, et bona de quibus testati sunt . . . arbitrio Episcopi subiaceant.*"<sup>1</sup> This, I think, accounts for the nuncupative will, which is the last of these interesting documents. Although the dispensation of Cardinal Pole enabled Thomas Bede to administer to his brother's will and to carry out its dispositions, it does not appear to enable him to take anything under it, while the mandate to David Pole in the following year, reciting the dispensation, merely allows a sufficient sum to the secularized monk for his sustentation, the rest going to pious uses, and the whole after his death to the Church. It must have been to avoid this ultimate disposition of his earnings that he appointed his nephew Twysden to be his executor,—not as I conceive that he might carry out any charitable trust, and in order to avoid its falling under the bar of a superstitious use, as was the practice in more recent times; but as a universal legatee, named to carry out wishes which he must have

<sup>1</sup> Fabio Frangipani, Abp. of Nazareth, ap. Van Esper 'De Vitio Simonie, p. ii., c. iv.

been fully instructed in beforehand, though to put them on record would have been at once a violation of the law of the country, and of the much more flexible law of Thomas Bede's own conscience. At the time of his death, it would seem from the known tendencies of those who were with him, that he had again (in a measure at least) conformed to the doctrines of the Church of England. His near relations of the Dering family, who were early attached to the reformed doctrine and the Elizabethan rule, seem to have been at his death-bed; his "nephew Twysden" had married into the family of Sir Thomas Wyatt, whose devotion to the Protestant cause was so fatal to him, proving that the *entourage* of Thomas Bede in his later days rather consisted of the followers of Cranmer than of Pole; and that he left the "*domos, fundos, aliaque bona immobilia*," to increase the "Augmentation Office" of Roydon Hall, rather than to tempt the greater Augmentation Office, which had swallowed up his earlier home.

Turning from the Monk to the Cardinal, we observe several noteworthy points in his dispensation, and the mandate arising out of it. Roman writers have noted the title which is here given to Pole as a rare and one of the earliest instances of the Pope's assigning a title belonging only to the deaconate, "*Sancta Maria in Cosmedin*," to a Presbyter Cardinal,—a confusion even now unfrequent. The earliest Cardinals took their titles from the *Rioni* or divisions of the City of Rome, signing thus, "*Diaconus septimæ Regionis*" or "*primæ*," or otherwise. And as the learned Marco Lupi, Archpriest of Bergamo, shews in his treatise "*De Parochiis ante Annum Christi millesimum*," that there were no distinct parishes in Rome before 1000, the titles must have grown up later, and the origin assigned popularly to the Cardinalate as representing the "parochial clergy" is evidently erroneous. They were rather the

Chapter of the patriarchal church living in community—as our own canons were, until “*præbendæ*” were annexed to them.

From the title of Pole we pass to consider his legatine office, and the authority under which he gives this dispensation. The office of “*legatus natus*,” held by the Archbishops of Canterbury, was little more than a title of honour, as was proved when Archbishop Chicheley contended in vain for precedence against Cardinal Beaufort, who merely from his Cardinalate insisted successfully on keeping the higher place. The letter of Pope Eugenius IV., written to Chicheley from the Council of Florence to take him down from his high place is, perhaps, the most curious specimen of the snubbing of Lambeth by the Vatican which is to be found anywhere. But although the twofold legatine office is mentioned,—that “*de latere*” denoting, as Eugenius tells us, his belonging to the very body of the Pope,—Pole dispenses in the first document as *ordinary*, and “*quantum de jure potuit*.” He recognizes the validity of the Acts of Parliament under which Thomas Bede held his new civil rights and pension (*leges tum de facto editas*), and appears to tread anxiously and delicately the dangerous ground from which parliamentary authority had withdrawn only to watch for the opportunity of a return. The second dispensation and mandate addressed to the Vicar-General, as it has a much larger scope, goes on the ground of his legatine office, and as it belongs to the following year, indicates a surer footing than the previous one. The paucity of the secular clergy then in England seems to contradict the general assertion that so preponderating a body of ecclesiastics accepted the change under Mary. Pole, in his “*Decrees of Reformation*,” confirms this great dearth of clergy, and exhorts the bishops to let their livings remain vacant as short a time as possible,—

complains that "the harvest is great, but the labourers few,"—and is anxious to provide "at least one clergyman" to say Mass in each church "in a decent surplice," for "vestments" were then out of the question.

The conditions of the reconciliation of the penitent form the next point of interest in the commission of Cardinal Pole to his Vicar. Thomas Twysden was under the excommunication "*latae sententiæ*," and hence no monition was required, and no preliminary denunciation. He has in this case, (as in the case of heresy) to petition for absolution, to "declare his belief in what the Church believes," and to give satisfaction "*ad arbitrium superioris sui*."<sup>1</sup> What was the penance enjoined him does not here transpire, but the special conditions annexed to the reconciliation indicate it to have been rather pecuniary than personal. The absolution granted by the Legate was of that kind which the canonists call *plena*, which enabled the recipient of it to be promoted to the order of the priesthood. St. Raymond de Pennafort lays down a fourfold division of dispensations in case of heresy; and schism stands here on the same footing. He terms it "*semitplena*" "*plena*," "*plenior*," and "*plenissima*;" the first, in which the penitent is received in the order he possesses already without hope of further promotion; the second, when he is allowed to proceed to the priesthood and no further; the third, when he can ascend to a bishopric, and the fourth, when he can attain to every dignity whatever.<sup>2</sup> The second was the degree achieved by Thomas Bede, whose dispensation enabled him merely to turn his English priesthood into a Roman one. Whether he ever did this there is nothing to enable us to determine. Certainly the chances were greatly

<sup>1</sup> 'Decisiones Rotæ Romanæ Antiquæ,' Lugd. 1519, p. 250.

<sup>2</sup> 'Summæ,' lib. i., tit. v., sec. vii.

against it; and the influences around him lead us to conclude that he died at a good old age, in the Elizabethan dispensation, probably a member of that "mixed communion" which until the fulmination of the Bull "Regnans in Excelsis," broke it up, was likely a long time to have left the English church up to the days of its greatest trial, one and undivided.

We have now briefly noted the most interesting features in these almost unique family documents, which we present to the reader as copied from the originals by our lamented friend himself, and occasionally illustrated by his marginal notes and corrections. The writer is not aware whether the original documents, which were beautifully executed and perfectly preserved, are still in the possession of the family; but the perilous chances which attend upon such relics make it important that so authentic and interesting a copy of them should be preserved, as he desired, in these pages.

## INVENTORIES OF PARISH CHURCH GOODS IN KENT, A.D. 1552.

COMMUNICATED BY THE REV. MACKENZIE E. C. WALCOTT, THE REV.  
E. P. COATES AND THE REV. W. A. SCOTT ROBERTSON.

INVENTORIES of Church goods were frequently made during the **Middle Ages**, when priestly vestments and the ornaments of churches were always numerous and often of great value. Perhaps the oldest inventory now in existence is that, made in 1307, of the goods and ornaments of the Temple Church in London. It is preserved amongst the public records<sup>1</sup>, and forms part of the roll of possessions of the Templars, at the time of the dissolution of their order in 1312. Mr. H. Harrod printed this Temple inventory in *Norfolk Archæology*, v. 89, together with several others, which had been entered from time to time in the Registers of the Archdeacon of Norwich. These inventories of Norwich Churches commenced in 1368, and were continued pretty regularly until 1419, beyond which date there are very few entries.

In Kent we have an inventory, taken at the close of Henry VII.'s reign, of the goods of Cranbrook Church. It is dated April 13th, 1509, is inscribed in the book which contains the churchwardens' accounts from that time to the close of the seventeenth century, and has

<sup>1</sup> "Compotus Nichi Picot," etc. Templars' Rolls No. 1, membrane 7; among MS. Exchequer Records of Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer and Pipe Office.



been printed in the Appendix to a Lecture on the Annals of Cranbrook Church by our member Mr. W. Tarbutt.

The many inventories of Church goods made at the period of the dissolution of monasteries, differ from these in not being inventories of the goods of parish churches. To our last volume Mr. Mackenzie Walcott contributed three such monastic inventories: one from Minster, in Shepey, and two from Dover; that of Winchester Cathedral was printed by Strype, as No. XVI. in the Appendix to his 'Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer;' Dugdale inserted ~~several~~ in his 'Monasticon;' notably, one of all the gold and silver plate delivered to Henry VIII., including Becket's staff, and 323 ounces of silver plate from Canterbury Cathedral, delivered to the King on the 27th of April, 1540 ('Monasticon,' i. 67, Bohn's edition, 1846); and many others have found their way into print. The contents of such monastic inventories furnish the particulars of the "Church stuff," which is so frequently mentioned in records of the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.

The systematic and authoritative view of the goods and ornaments of all parish churches was not commenced until the simplicity of the Reformed Service rendered useless the many costly vestments and ornaments which had been necessary adjuncts of the ancient ritual. Then, however, it became needful to guard against illegal appropriation of the articles which had thus been discarded from use. Therefore, as we learn from the contents of the inventories, in the second, in the third, and again in the sixth year of Edward VI., his Privy Council caused inventories to be made of the goods and ornaments of all parish churches; for the safe keeping of which goods they held the churchwardens responsible. Of the last inventories, made in 6 Ed. VI., many have already been printed from the originals in

the Record Office,<sup>1</sup> and we now print those which remain from the survey of Kent (MSS. "Church Goods; Kent  $\frac{3}{13}$  to  $\frac{3}{23}$ " in the Record Office).

It is important to remember the difference between parish church goods, enumerated in these inventories, and the similar goods of monastic houses and chantries, often called "Church stuff" and "Church goods." The latter had been bestowed upon the King by Acts of Parliament in 27 & 28 Hen. VIII., by 37 Hen. VIII. cap. 4, and by 1 Ed. VI. cap. 14. The former had never been so dealt with.

For Kent the inventories are peculiarly defective; more than half of them are lacking. The one hundred and thirty-six which are preserved among the public records, appertain almost entirely to the lathes of Shepway and Sutton-at-Hone, together with the cities of Canterbury and Rochester. To represent the large area comprised within the lathes of St. Augustine's, Scray, and Aylesford, we have only inventories for Ightham, Shadoxhurst, Strood, and a parish, the name of which is illegible, in the Hundred of Twyford. This deficiency seems the more remarkable when we know that for the adjacent county of Surrey not more than three parish inventories are lacking. It may perhaps have arisen from the careless method in which the Kentish inventories were preserved. To this day each is a detached and separate membrane, while those of many other counties are collected into compact volumes.

The Royal Commission, under which all but five of

<sup>1</sup> Those for nine churches in and around Lynn Regis in 'Norfolk Archæology,' i. 73, by Mr. Dawson Turner; those for the town of Shrewsbury in the 'Archæological Journal,' xii. 269, by Mr. Joseph Hunter; those for Norwich city in 'Norfolk Archæology,' vi. 360, by Sir John P. Boileau; those for Staffordshire by Mr. E. J. Edwards in 1863; those for Lincolnshire in Mr. E. Peacock's 'English Church Furniture,' 1866; and those for Surrey by Mr. J. R. Daniel-Tyssen in 1869.

these inventories were taken, was issued at Westminster on the 16th of May, 1552. The actual commission for Kent is not extant, but we gather its terms from that issued on the same day for the town of Northampton, which has been found among the records of the Exchequer. This Northampton commission, together with others, is printed in an Appendix to the Seventh Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Records, dated 1846 (page 314). It differs in some particulars from the "Instructions to the Commissioners for the County of Northampton," dated June 10th, 1552, as printed by Fuller (Ch. Hist. book vii. sect. 2).

The commission of May 16th, 1552, recites that the King, Edward VI., "of the Church of England and also of Ireland in earth the Supreme Head," had previously issued other commissions, under which account had been taken of the church goods, plate, jewels, vestments, bells, and other ornaments of every parish; and that such goods were then committed for safe keeping to the churchwardens and other fit parishioners; that then the inventories, prepared in duplicate, were deposited one copy with the churchwardens and the other with the Custos Rotulorum, the Clerk of the Peace, or the King's Council. Nevertheless, it proceeds to state, the King is informed that some of such church goods have been embezzled or removed, contrary to his Highness's expressed commands and manifestly in contempt of his honour. To redress and reform these unlawful proceedings, he appoints special commissioners to receive and take yet another due, full, and just view of all church goods. They are commissioned,—

- I. To cause an inventory to be made of the same in each parish.
- II. To compare it with the best of the former inventories, all of which are to be furnished by the Custodes Rotulorum or other officials.

- III. To make examination upon oath respecting articles found lacking, for the purpose of ascertaining by whose default the same hath been removed, embezzled, aliened, or diminished.
- IV. To enquire in whose possession lacking articles remain, or to whose use the profit of their sale has come.
- V. To make a return in writing of these matters to the King's Council.
- VI. To imprison any who shall stubbornly refuse to answer their questions upon this matter, or to obey their orders.

In addition to these directions, there is another clause in the "Instructions," dated June 10th, 1552, and printed by Fuller (Ch. Hist. book vii. sect. 2), from a MS. lent to him by a gentleman of Northamptonshire, and copied from Fuller by Cardwell ('Documentary Annals,' i. 99). It runs thus, "And they shall also give good charge and order that the same goods and every part thereof be at all times forthcoming to be answered, leaving nevertheless in every parish church or chapell of common resort, one, two, or more chalices or cups, according to the multitude of the people in every such church or chappell, and also such other ornaments as by their discretion shall seem requisite for the Divine Service in every such place for the time." The additional power, conferred by this clause, accounts for a peculiarity in the inventories of the City of Canterbury, in which they differ from all other Kentish inventories. There alone did these commissioners seize any of the parish church goods.

Although the monastic establishments had been dissolved in the reign of Hen. VIII., and the property of all chantries had been assigned to the Crown long ago, by the Acts 37 Hen. VIII. c. 4, and 1 Ed. VI. c. 14, yet the enquiry of this commission of 6 Ed. VI. was to

include all "chapels, brotherhoods, guilds, and fraternities," as well as parish churches. Burnet and Strype, indeed, apply the reports of embezzlement and misappropriation, spoken of in the commission, to the "Church stuff" of those "chapels, brotherhoods, guilds, and fraternities," which thus belonged by Act of Parliament to the Crown. Burnet says that these commissioners were to make strict "enquiry of all who had cheated the King in the suppression of chantries, or in any other thing that related to churches; from which the Visitors were believed to have embezzled much to their own uses. Most of all these persons had been the friends or creatures of the Duke of Somerset, and the enquiry after these things seems to have been more out of hatred of him, than out of any design to make the King richer by what should be recovered for his use" (Hist. Ref. ii. 424). Strype describes this commission as an inquiry after such as had embezzled goods belonging to chantries, etc. (Mem. Cranmer, book ii. ch. 33).

Another probable source of these reports is the frequency with which the parish churches seem to have been "broken up and robbed." The result of the commission, however, as embodied in these inventories, seems to prove that this "breaking up" of churches was occasioned by popular excitement, rather than by desire for plunder. The lists of things stolen are extremely meagre, and the articles themselves were generally of little value. Only in five instances was any piece of plate carried off. Many churches were "broken up," but only at Chesilhurst, Cudham, Great and Little Chart, and Eltham was any silver stolen.

The chief "alienation" of parish church goods seems to have been made by the churchwardens, who sold portions of them "with the consent of the whole parish." So early as 1548 we find in the Faversham Chamberlain's accounts an entry of £22. 15s. 6d. received for a

silver cross and chalice sold ; and, under the same date, Strype speaks of such sales as this (Mem. Cranmer, book ii. ch. 8). Using the terms which we find adopted in the commission, he says that the utensils and ornaments of churches were spoiled, embezzled, and made away, partly by the churchwardens and partly by other parishioners. He gives, *in extenso*, a letter written to Archbishop Cranmer, by Protector Somerset and the Lords of the Council, on the 30th April, 1548 ; in which Cranmer is directed to charge every parish in his diocese, in no wise to sell, give, or otherwise alienate any bells, or other ornament, or jewels belonging to the parish church. At a Visitation of his diocese held in the same year (2 Ed. VI.) the Archbishop accordingly inserted amongst his "Articles to be enquired of," this query :—"Item, whether they have not monished their parishioners openly that they should not sell, give, nor otherwise alienate any of their churches goods' (Cardwell's 'Documentary Annals,' i. 48). This injunction may have been modified by the commissions issued during the 2nd and 3rd Ed. VI. At all events, as the changes necessitated by the Reformation entailed considerable expense upon each parish, for books, communion-tables, chests, the destruction of altars and roods, and consequent repairs of floors and walls, (*vide* Chilham, Crayford and Godmersham), the parishioners with one consent, as the inventories testify, insisted upon turning to account the discarded vestments and ornaments. One of the injunctions, issued in 1547, had directed that money arising from fraternities, guilds, and other stocks of the church, should be used for the poor, and for the reparation of churches and highways adjoining them (Cardwell, Doc. Ann. i. 18). Vestries, therefore, had some precedent for using the proceeds of superfluous church goods in defraying the cost of church repairs ; of improving houses for

the poor, as at Great Chart; and of repairing highways, as at Chartham.

The very general idea that Protector Somerset stripped parish churches of their goods and ornaments, is entirely removed by these inventories. They, and the tenor of the commission of May, 1552, all prove that far from laying hands upon these things, he and the King's Council had, during six years of Edward's reign, made strenuous efforts to prevent the spoliation of parish church goods. Somerset was executed on the 22nd of January, 1552, and the commission was not issued until the 16th of the following May. "He is," says Strype, "generally charged for the great spoil of churches and chapels, and pulling down the bells in parish churches, ordering only one bell in a steeple" (Mem. Cranmer, book ii. ch. 26). Yet these inventories, taken months after his decapitation, show that the bells of parish churches were still in their steeples (there were no less than 475 bells in the 136 steeples mentioned in the Kentish inventories), and that neither he, nor his successor in the Government, had up to that time made any spoil of parish churches.

After the expiration of six years, it might reasonably be supposed that all changes in the church and its ornaments, required by the Reformed service, and all needful repairs, had been completed by the churchwardens, and the cost defrayed by the sale of their discarded church goods. Still a vast quantity of superfluous goods and ornaments remained, after all the requirements of the parish churches were satisfied. Therefore the King's Council, having obtained in these inventories data upon which to act, issued a commission for the seizure of all goods not needed for the parish church. This commission issued on the 16th of January, 1553, less than six months before Edward's death. It is extant on the Patent Rolls in the Record Office

(Rot. Pat. 6 Ed. VI. part vii. m. 11, in dorso), and has been printed in the Deputy Keeper's Seventh Report (p. 312), and by Mr. Daniel-Tyssen with the Surrey inventories. By its terms eight commissioners are appointed, who are charged to collect all the inventories of church goods made under the former commission of May, 1552. They are instructed to ascertain what portion of the goods, in each inventory, is needed for the administration of the Sacraments and other services of the church. For such due administration they are to make adequate and sufficient provision. They are likewise especially commanded to charge all deans, provosts, churchwardens, and ministers, that they do safely keep unembezzled, unspoiled, and unsold all the great bells and saints' bells in their churches. To ensure that adequate provision is made for the church services, the commission distinctly states that in every church one, and in large churches two, chalices are to be left for the administration of Holy Communion; that honest and comely furniture and coverings must be appropriated to the communion-table, etc.; that a surplice or surplices must be left for the minister; that if any other portion of the vestments, altar cloths, or ornaments be absolutely required for the church services, such portion is to be left in the church; and that the great bells and saints' bells are to be left in the steeples. When they have thus seen that all the needs of the church are provided for, they are empowered to distribute to the poor all superfluous linen ornaments, and to take possession of all the remaining plate, copes, vestments, pieces of metal, and money, for the use of the King. Thus did the Council proceed to carry out in 1553 the plan which they had adopted, as Edward tells us in a short rough note in his journal, on the 21st of April, 1552, for turning to national use the superfluous parish church plate and goods. The young King's death on the 6th of July, 1553,



must have prevented its complete execution, but to what extent we cannot tell.

After reading the terms of this commission, dated 16th of January, 1553, and marking the care with which all the needs of each parish church are provided for, it is somewhat startling to find Mr. Froude saying of vestments, plate, and bells, that "a sweep cleared the parish churches throughout the country" (Hist. of Eng., v. 459), and this too under date November, 1552. Many of the Kentish inventories are dated in December, 1552; some of those for Lincolnshire bear date in May, 1553 (Peacock's Engl. Ch. Furniture, pp. 221, 223). Fuller warns him that only "what was *superfluous* and *superstitious*" was converted to the King's use (Ch. Hist. book vii. sect. 2), and goes on to quote an earlier author (Sir John Hayward), who complains that the commissioners "left but one silver chalice to every church;" but it is all lost upon Mr. Froude, who declares that "a sweep cleared the parish churches." How often he thinks the churches were thus swept clear of plate or goods, he does not tell us, but he does say that two years before this final sweep, "an Order of Council went out for all the plate remaining in all the churches in England to be brought to the Treasury" (Hist. Eng. v. 288). This statement he clenches by adding, under date May, 1551, that "in England such decorations of altars and churches, as had escaped the mint or the hands of grandees, were employed to decorate the royal tables on the reception of St. André" (v. 338). If these inventories of church goods were of no further use, they will have done good service by proving to us the absurdity of these statements. Not only is Mr. Froude's sweeping assertion untrue, but even the milder complaint of old Sir John Hayward, (quoted by Fuller,) is disproved by the inventories. In those for three churches at Lynn, given in 'Norfolk Archæology,' vol.

i., we find it distinctly stated that the commissioners left two chalices at St. Nicholas' Church (page 81), two at St. James's (p. 83), and two at St. Margaret's (p. 85).

But the information furnished by these inventories likewise disproves other charges of plunder and spoliation. Fuller says, "much costly furniture was embezzled;" "private men's halls were hung with altar cloathes; their tables and beds covered with copes instead of carpets and coverlets; many drank at their daily meals in chalices; and as if first laying hands upon them were sufficient title unto them, *seizing on them* was generally the price they had payed for them" (Ch. Hist. book vii. sect. 2). These words have been quoted, without acknowledgment, by Southey ('Book of the Church,' ch. xiii. p. 256), and by Mr. Froude (Hist. Eng. v. 458), yet the impression they convey is assuredly false. These inventories afford every reason for believing that the articles, thus converted to domestic use, were duly purchased of the parish authorities, whose sale of them is noticed by Mr. Froude himself in an earlier chapter (v. 72).

Little consideration is needed to see that, after all the monastic church goods had been brought into the market, and after the parochial vestries had disposed of some of their superfluous church goods and ornaments, it would be difficult to understand how private houses of any size could be found lacking some such purchased goods. Certainly there is no ground for saying, as Fuller does, that "seizing on them was generally the price they had paid for them."

In Kent the execution of the commission of May, 1552, seems to have been delayed. We find Archbishop Cranmer writing his excuses to the Duke of Northumberland in the autumn of that year. He says that he awaited the return of the gentlemen and justices of Kent, who were mostly in London (Strype's Mem.

Cranmer, book ii. ch. 33). Whether this delay in any way accounts for the paucity of Kentish inventories, it is impossible to say.

Upon the Patent Roll, 6 Ed. VI., next to the commission dated January 16, 1553, there follows an undated commission (membr. 12 in dorso) which appoints certain persons to take inventories; those named for this county were all residents within the three lathes for which inventories are lacking. Edward's death may have arrested their progress.

Of the existing inventories, that for the chapel of St. Clement next the Bridge at Rochester was made in 1548 (2 Ed. VI.), and its goods seem to have been sold under the Chantries Act (1 Ed. VI. c. xiv.). For four parish churches—Alkham, Capel, Egerton, and Swingfield—the only existing inventories were made under the commission of 3 Ed. VI. (1549). It would seem that no change had taken place in the state of the goods and ornaments of those churches, between 1549 and 1552, and that therefore no fresh inventory was required.

In every case the commissioners of May, 1552, referred to the inventories of 1549 as the standard by which to discover defaults (see p. 27, and Inventories *passim*).

There is no authoritative list of the gentlemen appointed to act in Kent under the commission of May, 1552. The Archbishop's letter of excuse for delay shows that they were not all appointed at once, some being then at work, and others not yet commissioned. From the inventories themselves we learn the names of those who acted for portions of the county. For all parishes in the Lathe of Sutton-at-Hone, the acting commissioners were Sir Percyval Hart, Sir Martin Bowes, Thomas Lovelace, and John Browne, Esquires, residents within that Lathe. These gentlemen sat together at Greenwich on the 16th of November,

when inventories of the neighbouring parishes were sworn and attested before them. The three first-named (three being a quorum) alone sat at Dartford on the 23rd of November, to receive the inventories and accounts of some thirty other parishes in the Lathe. On these occasions, the curate, churchwardens, and the principal parishioners, attended from each parish, and made oath of the correctness of the inventories, and of the list of things stolen, etc.

For the lathe of Shepway the commissioners were Sir Thomas Kempe of Ollantigh, John Toke, Peter Herman, and Walter Moyle,—all, again, apparently residents within the lathe for which they acted. They held full sessions on the 27th and 28th of November, 1552, and the three first-named held other sessions on Saturday, the 3rd of December (at Ashford), and on the 2nd, 4th, and 5th of December, but where does not appear.

As we might naturally suppose, the commissioners for the city of Canterbury were the first to act upon their commission; but who they were we do not know. The inventories for Canterbury are dated on the 18th, 19th, and 20th of July, and on the 6th and 19th of September. Judging from the analogous case of Rochester, it seems probable that the commissioners for Canterbury under the commission of May, 1552, were the same gentlemen whose names are given as appointed to act under the undated commission *circa* January, 1553. The latter were the Archbishop, Sir Thos. Cheyney, Sir William Fynche, the Mayor, Thomas Spylman, Nicholas Fyshe, Thomas Frenche, and George Maye, of whom probably only the last four would act.

For the city of Rochester, the commissioners of May, 1552, were the Mayor (John Dixon), John Dyer, Thomas Swan the elder, and George Clerk. They seem to have held sessions on the 18th of July for Rochester, and on the 24th of July for Strood. The

last of these gentlemen, George Clerk, was one of the commissioners who, with Thomas Henley and others, acted for the parish whose name is illegible, in the hundred of Twyford, on the 9th of December, 1552. The three gentlemen first named had previously acted upon a commission issued in 2 Ed. VI. (1548), as we learn from the Rochester Bridge Chapel (St. Clement's) Inventory; and they were again appointed to act under the undated commission.

John Toke, Esquire, was a commissioner in 1549 (3 Ed. VI.). He signed the Egerton inventory in conjunction with George Darell and William Goldwell, his fellow-commissioners.

Under the undated commission, which is printed on page 307 of the Seventh Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Records, the commissioners for Kent, in addition to the Lord Warden, were Sir George Harper, of Sutton Valence, and Thomas Wotton, of Boughton Malherbe, both of the Lathe of Aylesford; Sir Raynold Scott, of Scott's Hall, Smeeth, and Sir John Norton, of Northwood in Milton, both of the Lathe of Scray; with Henry Cryspe, of Quekes in Birchington, and Edward Isaacke of Howlets, Patricksbourne, both of the Lathe of St. Augustine's. These are the three Lathes for which inventories are lacking.

When we come to consider the contents of the inventories, we cannot fail to be surprised at the richness, the variety, and the multitude of these church goods and ornaments. Bearing in mind the oft-repeated stories of pillage and spoliation, we must at first be astonished to find, at the close of Edward's reign, only six months before his death, the bells untouched in the steeples, the organs remaining in the choirs, the plate weighty even to magnificence, and vestments incredibly numerous, and of wonderful richness and variety, still in the keeping of the various churchwardens.

Examining the inventories, first of all with regard to the plate, we find that there were only seven churches which did not possess one, two, three, or more silver chalices with patens. Silver crosses, pyxes of silver, candlesticks of silver, crewets of silver, censers of silver, ships with spoons all of silver, crysmatories of silver, —meet us on every page.

At Holy Cross in Canterbury were four chalices with their patens, of which one alone weighed  $34\frac{3}{4}$  ounces, and this weighty chalice with paten was wholly gilt. Stone-in-Oxney possessed a chalice weighing over 31 ounces; Dartford one of  $26\frac{1}{2}$  ounces, in addition to three others; Lewisham and Bromley had each a chalice weighing 22 ounces, and all these were gilt. Perhaps the church at Dartford was the richest in plate; there we find a silver gilt cross weighing 50 ounces, two silver gilt candlesticks of 59 ounces, a pair of censers weighing 58 ounces, a crysmatory of 22 ounces, and other silver articles weighing 107 ounces, making altogether nearly 300 ounces of silver ornaments in that one church. And this too at the end of the sixth year of Edward's reign.

The Ashford churchwardens had sold a pair of silver censers which were weighty. Challock possessed a cross, parcel gilt and enamelled, that weighed 43 ounces. At St. Nicholas, Rochester, there was a pyx of beryl set in silver, as well as two silver candlesticks weighing 54 ounces, and a pair of censers of 34 ounces. Some pyxes were gilt, and adorned with pearls and precious stones, others were of ivory bound with silver. Only one chalice is mentioned as being engraved,—that at Maplescombe Chapel, engraved with the picture of our Lord. In general, the inventories give an astonishing idea of the richness and value of the parish church plate, at the close of Edward's reign. When we refer to the lists of articles sold, we find that the prices

obtained for silver varied from four shillings and three pence to six shillings, per ounce. (See pp. 30, 41, 57, 61, etc.)

At Ebony, a mixed metal called alkamyn is mentioned as the material of one of the chalices. At Bilsington and Bircholt the chalices were of copper, that at Bircholt being gilt; while tin was the material of the chalice at Lyden, and of the communion cup at Lyminge; there is no mention of any chalice at Lympne, Paddlesworth, or Paul's Cray.

The ornaments and vessels sometimes made of silver were classed as plate, even when made of base metal. Under this head we find crosses of copper, and copper gilt, and of wood coated with lead or with latten; censers of latten and of copper; ships "to putt in frankincense" (as at Lewisham) of latten; crewets, for wine and water, of pewter, of tin, and of lead; pyxes of latten, of copper, and of copper gilt. Candlesticks, of brass, of latten, of iron, or of pewter, were of all sizes and of various kinds. There were the great standards of brass at Bromley; the two standards of latten that stood in the choir at Greenwich; the two "stander" candlesticks at Charing; the great candlestick of iron for the paschal at Hinxhill; the "branch of latyn of five pieces" at Westwell; and the thirty candlesticks on the rood-loft at Bethersden. There were candlesticks with nozzles, and candlesticks (called pryckets) without nozzles, having simply a spike on which the candle was impaled. Tapers were generally set upon the rood-loft in candlestick bowls (as at Brookland and Eltham) without any sticks or stems; of such bowls there were at Chilham no less than one hundred, all made of latten; sixty such bowls "bare the beam light" at Westwell; in some cases the bowls were of pewter, in others of lead, and in others of tin. In certain churches there were lamps of latten, as at Elmsted, and

"hanging basons" (at Bexley) wherein to set tapers, and for the paschal (at Bromley). At All Saints, Canterbury, we find mention of "two pillars to bear the sepulchre light." The plate included, lastly, basins and ewers for the font (as at Kingsnorth) of latten or of pewter; holy-water stoups of latten or brass; a brass "pan and treffete" at Downe; and in two churches kettles of latten or brass. The metal so often mentioned as latten was that which is familiar to us as the material of which monumental brasses were made. The term is still used, in the trade, for rolled or sheet brass.

Of bells we find no less than 475 in 132 steeples, but in four of the inventories no bells are named. Of the 475, one was a clock bell; 42 were *sanctus* or saints' bells; and 432 were "great bells of brass, suted in the steeple," for ringing to service. The term "bells of brass," which is generally used in these inventories, sounds absurd to bell-founders of the present day; but there is no doubt that the term here means bells of ordinary bell-metal, although this, the proper term, is only used in one or two inventories. The most usual number of bells for a church, in 1552, seems to have been three. That number is found in forty-one of our inventories. Thirty-two of these Kent churches had four bells each; as many as twenty-six possessed five bells; and in eight churches there were six bells in each steeple. In only four was there but one bell, while twenty had two apiece.

The *sanctus*, or saint's bell, was smaller than those used for ringing to service. In three cases it was hung, not in the steeple, but over the chancel or choir arch: at Egerton, Westwell, and Stone-in-Oxney. It seems to have been called the "wagerell" or "wakerell" bell at Canterbury, Challock, and Chartham, and the "morrowmas bell" at Lewisham and Wye. The weights of



bells are never given in the Kent inventories, but from other counties we gather that the average weight of a saint's bell was about half a hundredweight. At Wonersh, in Surrey, the "saunce bell" weighed 54 lbs.; that at Shalford, 25 lbs. (Surrey Arch., Coll. IV., 37, 35); that at South Lynn, half a hundredweight (Norf. Arch. i. 79). In the Greenwich and Foots Cray inventories, the dimensions of the great bells are given. In the inventories of some counties the estimated weight of the bells is specified; and in those for Norfolk we find statements of the estimated value of the bells calculated at fifteen shillings per hundredweight (Norf. Arch. i. 79, 81).

Within the churches we hear of other bells. The sacryng or sacrament bells, usually of "brass," but occasionally of silver, were generally two in number; but at St. John's Hospital without Northgate, Canterbury, there were six. Hand-bells (one or more) for processions are also named. Some of them were "to bear before people to burying," and were called burial bells, corse bells, or bells for the dead people; there were also bells used in beating the doles or bounds of the parish, annually during Rogation week; one of these in the Dartford inventory is called the Dollyng bell.

Connected with the metal ornaments, and reckoned as plate, we find at Dartford "a deske of latten called the Egle." Whether this was the only eagle lecturn in Kent we cannot say, but it is the only one recorded in these inventories. It is probable that eagle lecturns were rare in 1552. One was presented to Peterborough cathedral by Abbot Ramsay and John Maldon about 1471 (Dugdale's 'Monasticon,' i. 323); an "egle for a lettern" was sold for forty shillings at Boston, Lincolnshire, in 1553 (Eng. Ch. Furn. 223); but eagles do not seem to have been much used before the seventeenth century. Lecturns of latten are not uncommon in the

Norwich inventories: one at St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich, is said to have been presented by William Blakenee, *circa* 1350 (Norf. Arch. v. 100); one at St. Andrew's, Norwich, was in 1552 valued at forty-six shillings and eight pence (Norf. Arch. v. 109); another at St. Nicholas', Lynn Regis, was reckoned, at the rate of twopence per pound, to be worth fifteen shillings (Norf. Arch. i. 81.) Threepence per pound was obtained for latten in 1550 by the churchwardens of Bethersden.

Of organs, there was an average of one in every eight of the churches named in these inventories. The general term used is "a pair of organs," meaning, probably, an organ having two stops; but the instruments at Ashford, Holy Cross in Canterbury, and Warehorne were larger than usual, for they are described as "two pair of organs." At Bethersden was a "base" pair; those at St. Margaret's, Canterbury, and Wittesham were "old;" and of the Erith organ, it is said that the pipes were half stolen. We gather from the Norwich inventories that in 1552 a pair of organs was valued at ten pounds; and that at St. Peter de Parmentergate, Norwich, a new organ was built, during the reign of Edward VI., the cost of which was defrayed by the sale of vestments and other superfluous goods (Norf. Arch. v. 119). In Kent there were organs in eighteen of the churches named in these inventories: at Ashford, Bethersden, Bromley, Canterbury, (in Holy Cross, St. Margaret's, St. Paul's, and Eastbridge Hospital), Dartford, Greenwich, Erith, Lewisham, Mersham, St. Mary Cray, Smeeth, Warehorne, Westwell, Wittesham, and Woolwich. There had also been an old pair of organs at Hayes, but they were sold.

Of church books, as the Ightham inventory plainly states, those belonging to the old service had been delivered to the ordinary; having been collected by virtue

of an Order in Council issued at Christmas, 1549, and in accordance with a letter from Archbishop Cranmer, dated 14th February, 1550. ('Cranmer's Register,' fol. 25, b.) Therefore none of the old service books remained in the churches, and none appear in the inventories. Every church, or nearly so, possessed the Great Bible and the 'Paraphrase' of Erasmus, according to Edward's 'Injunctions' (§ 7), issued in 1547 (Cardwell Doc. Ann. i. 8). This 'Paraphrase' included only the Gospels and Book of the Acts, translated by Nicholas Udal, and published in 1547. The translation of the rest of the 'Paraphrase of the New Testament' was not published until 1549 and 1552. Five churches (Bromley, Our Lady of Northgate, Eltham, Kingsdown, and Southfleet) possessed the 'First Book of Homilies.' In the Canterbury inventories we read of printed psalters: St. Paul's had two, St. Margaret's six, and St. Elphye (Alphage) one; Sternhold's 'Metrical Translation of Fifty-one Psalms,' was published in 1549. At Bromley we find three English processioners.

Passing to the consideration of the vestments, we remark their great number, their richness, but, above all, the surprising variety of their materials. None but woollen and fustian materials were then manufactured in England, yet here we read of more than twenty different stuffs used in vestments, and of each stuff a great variety of qualities and of colours. The richest of these were golden tissues, called variously cloth of gold, baudkin (see Arch. Cant. vii. 277, *note*), samite, and cloth of tissue. They were woven with a warp or web of gold and a woof of silk. The differing qualities of gold, and the diversified colours of silks, permitted great variety in these gorgeous stuffs. We read in these inventories of copes and vestments made of Luks (*i. e.* Lucchese) gold, and Luks baudkin, the gold thread of which was from Lucca; of baudkin Lyons,

from the town so famed for its silks; of red gold baudkin; of red, blue, green, and changeable baudkin; of red tinsel; of tinsel cloth, and of cloth of tissue.

King Edward's draught of a Bill for restraining apparel, shows that cloth of gold tinsel was richer than cloth of gold. Barons might wear the latter, none below dukes the former (Strype's Mem. Eccles. ii. bk. 2, ch. 9, p. 555).

Next in value to the golden tissues, and often rivaling them, were the rich vestments of velvet. We read here of Turkey velvet; velvet embroidered with Venice gold; velvet embroidered with silver; velvet with branches and images embroidered; velvets of every colour and shade, white, black, blue, red, green, purple, violet, tawny and black-tawny, "dunne" and mouse-dunne, brown-crimson, and russet. This variety in England in the sixteenth century, when all velvet must have been imported, deserves a passing notice.

The same rich variety is found in the satin stuffs used for vestments. The best seems to have been satin of Bruges (called Brydgs and Bredgs in the inventories). There were also tinsin and tinsel satin, satin embroidered with Lucchese gold; satin embroidered with copper gold; satin embroidered with spangles of silver; old satin with branches of silk and gold; branched satin; and satin of every colour—white, black, blue, green, red, russet, sad-tawny, crimson, and yellow. This diversity of colours in satin as in velvet should be remembered, for Mr. F. W. Fairholt says, "the general colour of satin and of velvet seems to have been red; but black satin is once mentioned by an ancient writer." ('Costume in England,' p. 574.) These inventories, therefore, throw additional light upon the matter.

Of damasks, a kind called "branched damask," most probably equivalent to figured damask of our days, was in great request for vestments; but we also find men-

tion of damasks of eight different colours. Of silk we find sarcenet or taffetas, changeable silk, bustyan silk (in Dartford and Willesborough inventories), silk of russet, tawny, popinjay, crane, and seven other colours, in these inventories, and 'pocock' silk occurs in one (not in the Record Office) which is printed in Gilbert's 'Memorials of All Saints', Maidstone,' p. 61; from a MS. of 14th November, 1552, in the Town Chest.

There were also vestments of Dornyx or Dorneck, a coarse kind of damask, of varying materials, made at Tournay; vestments of camlet, of say, of caddis or crewel (a fine kind of worsted), of black Russell worsted, of common worsted, of cloth, of lynsey wool, of tuke (whatever that may be), of canvas, of linen cloth, of thread, of stannen (at Farnboro'), and of fustian. Fustian of Geent is mentioned in the Greenwich inventory; it probably came from Ghent; fustyan apes, or naaps, or nappuls, mentioned several times, is pronounced by Mr. Peacock (Eng. Ch. Furniture, p. 200), upon very good evidence, to be fustyan of Naples. We find Mr. Peacock's decision supported by an item in an inventory printed by Dugdale ('Monasticon,' i. 64), "a coffer covered with fustyan of Naples." English fustians were in great request on the Continent; but the fustian manufacture was so important to the Low Countries that, when the Government of Edward VI. desired to renew at Antwerp heavy bills which they could not meet, a customary condition was that fustians and diamonds should be purchased of the lenders. Sir Thomas Gresham assured the Duke of Northumberland that this condition had been often accepted and fulfilled by Henry VIII. (Strype's Mem. Eccles. ii. bk. 2, ch. 10, p. 563.)

In addition to these various stuffs used for vestments, we find buckram, carpet-work, haircloth, arras, Holland

cloth and diaper, likewise used for church goods. The diaper is distinguished as being with or without blue milling, and in one case we read of "blackwork diaper" for a tablecloth at Our Lady of Northgate, Canterbury.

Distinction is occasionally made between the ornaments for highdays or holidays, and those for every-day use or "quotidians." The quaint entry of "one albe to occupye for every day" occurs in the inventory for St. John's Hospital without Northgate, Canterbury, and "quotidian" vestments are mentioned at Great Chart and Challock; vestments for Lent, at Wye. Ashford, and St. Paul's, Canterbury, possessed albs for children; and Greenwich had six copes for children. The St. Paul's albs were "for children to bear tapers in;" the Greenwich copes were probably for the choristers' use during the Boy Bishop's annual pageant at the feasts of St. Nicholas and the Holy Innocents.

The use of "deacon and subdeacon," instead of the names of their vestments (dalmatic and tunicle as in Arch. Cant. vii. 276, *note*), is universal in these inventories; the alb, amice, and apparel are seldom mentioned separately, but are included in the "appurtenances or all things thereto belonging." Embroidered borders of vestments are sometimes particularized, as "orpheras;" and "phanells" (maniples) are mentioned at Godmersham.

Of surplices, we find at Greenwich one gathered, two "old gathered" and five plain; at Cheryton there had been three for the priest and two for the clerk. Two churches at Canterbury had the largest number: St. Margaret's ten, and All Saints' eight.

The altar clothes and front clothes, or forefronts for altars, were of various materials, but not so gorgeous as the vestments. The only entries needing remark are those of "frenge of silk for the alters" (at Braborne and elsewhere) and of a "frontlett of fethers." (See p. 42.)

Possibly the articles richest in embroidery as well as in material were the "coverings or canopies for the sacrament" (see Beckenham) and the corporax cases.

The carecloth for weddings (Chislehurst) to hold over the bride (Ivychurch) was usually of bawdkin, silk, damask, or dornyx. At Kennington and Kingsnorth it is called the holy cloth; at Hynxhill, the holy cloth for brides. At St. Paul's, Canterbury, it served a double purpose, being of "red damask to lay upon corses and for weddings."

The palls, herse clothes or bier clothes, were of every rich material and of various colours; but we find, contrary to common opinion, that the majority of these pre-Reformation palls were entirely black (see pp. 33, 47, etc.), some were red and black, others black with a red or a white cross. Greenwich and Deptford possessed the richest examples. The "coverlett to serve at buryalls" (Kennington) and the coverpane (Greenwich) were probably palls.

The clothes with which the rood and all images, crosses, etc. were veiled during Lent, are frequently mentioned in the inventories. At Chislehurst was "a piece of red velvet for the cross on Good Friday;" green is the colour most frequently named for the cross cloth, but red and yellow sometimes occur. In some cases it is described as painted with the Trinity, or Our Lady, or the Assumption of the Virgin, or with angels. At Lullingstone were twelve Lent clothes; at Eltham there was a painted cloth to hang before the rood in Lent, and a Lent cloth to hang before the altar; at Willesborough "a vayl to serve in Lent to hang in the Quyer;" at St. John's Hospital, Canterbury, a "Lent cloth that went crosse the churche;" at Lewisham "a vale cloth, pictured with the Passion, of lynnyn with red spots."

The Easter Sepulchre is included in the inventory of  
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Eltham, and at St. Alphage or Elphye's, Canterbury, together with painted clothes or hangings to cover the same. These Easter Sepulchres would probably be moveable closets of wood wherein to enshrine, from Holy Thursday until Easter morning, the pyx containing one of the three hosts consecrated on the former day. (Peacock's 'English Church Furniture,' p. 28.)

The font cloth or "sheet to cover the font" (Downe) was of white linen, sometimes fringed as at Brenzette; sometimes with silk seams as at Brookland. At St. Mary Bredin, Canterbury, we read of a towel for the child-wife who held the infant at the font.

In addition to the linen saints' clothes, to hang over images, there were in rich parishes "cotes" or garments and mantles of rich stuffs for figures of the saints. Erith had three, Hynxhill one, Chilham "a cotte for the roode." They were generally for "Our Lady;" but at Greenwich there was a minute suit of armour, or "one little harnis for the image of St. George."

Banner clothes and streamers for processions were of silk, painted linen, or buckram. Pillows to kneel upon and cushions for books were covered with costly stuffs. Curtains "for the high altar," "for the quere," and elsewhere, were of silk, or linen, or buckram. There were towels for the altar, houseling towels, towels for the font taper, towels for the child-wife, and hand towels, some of diaper, some of plain linen.

Desk cloths of buckram, dornyx, carpet-work, and painted linen occur in different inventories, but at Greenwich we read of six desk clothes of yellow sarcel powderd with spots of purple satin and fringed with white and green silk, while at Swanscomb was a "cloth for the lecturn of paynted linnen."

Pulpit clothes occur at Canterbury (Our Lady of Northgate) and at Selling, the one of green and red



sarcenet, the other made out of a tunicle of changeable silk.

It now only remains to add that each inventory commences with a formal recital of the circumstances under which it was taken, and has appended to, or endorsed upon, it a memorandum of the delivery of the church goods to the churchwardens, to be safely kept and answered for by them. It would be useless to print the various headings, notes, and endorsements *in extenso*, we therefore print here the following *verbatim* copy of the Farnborough Inventory as a specimen of the whole.

### THE HUNDRED OF ROOKYSLEY FARNBOROWE

The inventorye indented made this xiiij daye of Novembre in the sixte yeare of the reigne of our Sovereigne lorde Edwarde the Sixte by the grace of God King of England Fraunce Ireland defender of the faith & in earth of the churche of England and also of Irelande the supreme heede Betwene Sir Percyvall Hert and Sir Marten Bowes knyghts John Browne & Thomas Lovelace esquiers commyssioners emongst others authorised by vertue of his gracs commyssion bering teste at Westminster the xvj daye of Maye in the sixte yeare of his mooste graciouse reigne for the viewe presentement & certyficat of all the goods plate juells bells and ornaments to everye churche and chappell within the said Countye of Kente belonging or in enye wise apperteyning to them & others diverted & allotted to thundreds of Blackheth, Bromeley & Bekenham, Litle & Leosnes, Rookysley, and Axton within the said countie of thone partie and John Lambe and John Marshall church wardens of the parishe Church of Farneborowe aforesaide of thother partie witnessith that the saide Comyssioners have delyvered by thes presents to the saide Churchwardens all the parcells hereafter particularly wrytten

Ffyrst on cupp of silver for to receyve the Communyon exchanged for the chalice waying by estimacon viij ounces

Item iij bells snted of brass in the steple

Item on crosse of latten gilted

Item ij copes one of dornyx & thother of blewe satten of  
Bridgs, a bible of the largest volume, & a paraphrasis of  
Erasmus

Item ij vestments braunched of stainen red & blew

Item a fronte of cremyson velvett upon thigh alter braunched  
with flowers of gold

To be safflie kept & preserved by the saide Churchwardens and  
the same and every parcell thereof to be forthcomyng at  
all tymes hereafter when it shall be of them required In  
witnes whereof as well the saide Comyssoners as the  
saide Churchwardens have subscribed their names on the  
day & yere above wrytten—

PERCYVALL HART. MARTYN BOWES.

THOMAS LOVELACE.

**Apud Dertford xxij<sup>o</sup> die Novembris anno regni Regis Edwardi  
VI<sup>ti</sup> VI<sup>to</sup>** Mem. that all the parcells of goods plate juells  
bells and ornaments apperteyning to the parishe church  
within written, mencyoned in the inventory made in the  
ij<sup>de</sup> yere of the reigne of our said Sovereigne lord, ar  
conteyned within this presente inventory, & ben delyvered  
by the within named comyssoners to the within named  
churchwardens to aunswere the same, excepte one chalice  
which was exchaunged for a sylver cuppe to receive the  
communion, on of the lyke weight and valne which lyke  
wyse were delyvered by the said comyssoners to the  
saide churchwardens to answeere the same

We now print one half only of the Inventories; the  
remainder will appear in our next volume. W. A. S. R.

## INVENTORIES.

(From MSS. "Church Goods; Kent, temp. Ed. VI., 1<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> to 4<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub>" in the  
Public Record Office.)

ACRYSE. v DECEMBER. VI. ED: VI

Richard Manger and George Feyron, churchwardens

First a chalice of silver by estimacion v uncs

Item a cope of red silke

Item a vestiment of red damaske  
 Item vj aulter clothes, & ij towells  
 Item a crosse, a pair of candelstiks, a bason an ewer, a broken  
 pix, & a senser of laten  
 Item a crymatory & a pair of cruets of pewter  
 Item a pall of red say, an old shete  
 Item an old lampe-bason of laten  
 Item an old canape for the Sacrament  
 Item a holy water stope of laten  
 Item ij bells in the Stepill

ALKHAM. x MARCH III<sup>rd</sup> ED. VI

John Foot, vicar; Richard Wollet churchwarden

Fyrst one sylver chalys by estymacon vi unces  
 Item one vestment of rede damaske with all things therto  
 Item one cope of sylcke  
 Item one vestment of whyt canvase  
 Item iij Rotchetts, & one serplyse  
 Item in the Stepyll there iij bells  
 Item a crosse, a payer of sensers of lattyn  
 Item one payr of candylstycks of latyn  
 Item iij auter clothes, & iij towells  
 Sold and bestowyd upon the reparacons of the church one  
 chales, one cope of velvett, & one vestment of velvett, one  
 herse clothe of blue, by John Sayye & William Oldfeld  
 for vij.li.

ALDYNGTON—II DECEMBER. VI. ED. VI

Richard Master, parson; William Smyth and  
 Richard Ellys, churchwardens; William Halko,  
 inhabitant

First a vestment of blew velvet with the albe  
 Item ij other vestments, the one of blew damaske and thother  
 of grene balkyn with a silkyn crosse  
 Item iij copez, the one of blew velvet the second of blewe sar-  
 cenet with starrez, & the third of grene balkyn  
 Item ij surples  
 Item a chalice of silver waying nyne uncs & a half

Item a crosse of lattyn with the cloth & the staff

Item ij lattyn candelstiks, & an altar cloth

Item ij towells

Item iij bells in the Steple

[ASHFORD] ESSHETISFORD—III DECEMBER VI. ED. VI

Thomas Knell, minister; John Essherst, John

Symon . . . Robert Halle parishioner

Fyrst one chalice with a paten of sylver double gilt wayng  
xij ounces

Item two copes with a vestment with deacon & subdeacon of  
clothe of tissue mixt with blewe velvett with albes and  
other apparell to the same belongyng

Item one cope of blewe velvett

Item one cope with a vestment deacon & subdeacon of blewe  
sylke taffeta with albs & other apparell to the same

Item one vestment deacon & subdeacon of blewe satten of  
bridgs

Item one vestment of whit sarcenet with albes & other apparell  
to the same

Item one cope with the vestment deacon & subdeacon of red  
velvett with albes & other apparell to the same

Item ij old cops of redd dornex myxt with other colors

Item one vestement of red dornexe with albe & other apparell  
to the same

Item one olde vestment of red damaske with albes & other  
apparell to the same

Item ij vestments of silke taffeta of . . .

Item one cope of red satten of bredgs

Item one vestment of yellow velvett with albes & other appa-  
rell to the same

Item one vestment of course . . .

Item ix old chesibles

Item iij albs for children

Item one old albe

Item ij alter clothes to the high alter of dornex

Item one other alter cloth to the same alter of whitt damaske

Item ij curtens of whit sarcenet

Item one old auter clothe of whit damaske

Item ij alter clothes of whit sarcenet wrought with nedell worke one alter cloth of crane color damaske, ij courstens of sarcenet

Item j whit clothe of sarcenet for the sepulchre

Item ij grene sylke clothes of . . . for the sepulchre, & certen . . .

Item a canapy of grene sylke dornex, four Corperacs cases, ij clothes for the pixe, one of red silke the other of whit lynen cloth

Item ij cussheens, one silk casse thother damaske

Item one carpet, one towell, ij cussheens, x diaper alter clothes, viij alter clothes off lenen, j dyaper towell, one other towell, iij short towells of dyaper, ij other short towells, ij surpleses, iij rochetts

Item iiij candelstyks of latten

Item one crosse clothe of grene silke one basen

Item vij baner clothes, one vale for lent, ij clothes of dornex for the desks

Item ij payer of great organes, one smale crisematory of pewter, ij cruets of pewter

Item one herse clothe of lynsey woll

Item v great bells, one lyttell bell

These parcells underwrettyn of the Inventory of the churche goods of Essheford made the viii day of March in the third yere of the rayne of our soverayne lord Edward the sixt that now is which have been sold sythence the makinge of the same Inventory & before the third day of December in the vi yere of our seid soverayne lord the Kyngs Majesties rayne by Robert Lymster, Thomas Harelakynden Richard Couper & John Symone churchwardens of Essheford aforesaid

First sold by Robert Lymster & Thomas Harelakynden former churchwardens to Robert Edolf two copes with vestments deacon & subdeacon of grene silke, j vestment of grene silke, & iiij alter clothes of red velvett with albs & other apparell viij li.

Sold by Richard Couper & John Symons churchwardens to Thomas Glover ij chalics with ther pattens of sylver, j pax of sylver, j payer of sensers of sylver wayinge liij onces di. xij li. x s. x d.

Item sold by the seid Richard & John to the seid Thomas

Glover ij copes with a vestment deacon and subdeacon of whyt branched damaske with albs & other apparell, ij copes of whytt saten of bredges, Item one cope with a vestment with deacon & subdeacon of black velvett with albs & other apparell to the same

Item one vestment of blake velvett with albs & other apparell foure courtens of sarcenett, one alter cloth of saten of bredgs, ij courteyns of sarcenett x.li. Summa xxx.li. x. s. x d.

Thereof expended in repayrynge the steple xxix li. viij s. vj d.

### ASSHE xxiii NOVEMBER. vi Ed: VI

William Wyles, parson; William Warren, the elder, and Thomas Ketell churchwardens.

First one vestment of grene satten

Item on vestment of blewe silke with deacon & subdeacon without albes

Item on crosse of copper or latten giltede, a staffe of the same

Item one crosse clothe of red silke

Item iij bells in the steple suted

Item ij cruetts of tynne & leade

Item iiij latten candlestycks

Item on censer of latten

Item on pix of copper or latten & a cloth of silke apperteyning to the same called a Canapie

Item on deske clothe of carpett worke

Item ij corporax cases, thone of red velvett thother of blewe saye

Item ij chalics with their patents of silver & parcell gilte, on of them weying ix ounces thother ix ounces

Item on chest for the Register booke with ij lockes

Item on bible, & one paraphrasis of Erasmus

Mem. endorsed Dertford xxiii November vi Ed vi All goods in the Inventory of iii Ed vi are in this & are now delivered to the churchwardens excepte ii copes one handbell one sacring bell ij alter clothes ij dyaper towells on corporas clothe on surples presented to be stollen

BEKENHAM—xvi Nov<sup>r</sup> vi Ed. VI

John Batt and Thomas Kempsall churchwardens

First ij chalics with there patents of sylver one gylt thother  
parcell gilt the best thereof with his patente weying xv  
ounces di, and thother with his patent waying xiiij ounces di

Item on litle pax of silver weying on ounce iii quarters di

Item on crosse of copper & gilte

Item on pix wherein the Sacrament is putt of copper and gilte

Item iiij bells of bell metell suted in the steple whereof on  
was broken

Item ij litle sacryng bells of brasse

Item xiiij alter clothes wherof iiij of diaper indiferent good and  
the rest pleyne cloth very moch worne

Item vj towells, iiij of them of diaper and thother ij of playne  
clothe very old

Item ij hand towells for the alter of plaine lynnen cloth

Item vj corporax cases wherof on of blake velvett another of  
crymsen and other of dyverse silkes

Item iiij corprax clothes

Item iiij litle pillowes standing on thalter

Item ij coveryngs or canopies for the Sacrament of nedle-  
worke & thother of laced golde worke & silke

Item ij other olde cover of blewe damaske

Item ij curtens of sarcenett

Item ij clothes for the crosse thone of grene sarcenett thother  
of paynted cloth

Item iiij alter clothes hangyng of white & grene saten of  
bridges paned

Item one other olde hanging of silke

Item ij vale clothes painted of lynnen clothe

Item ij sepulcre clothes with thapparells paynted of lynnen  
clothe

Item j lynnen hanging for the alter with a curten of the same

Item j boke of the bible of the large volume

Item j boke of the paraphrasis of Erasmus

Item j vestment of cremysen velvett with a crosse of cloth of  
gold

Item j other vestment of tawney satten of bridgs

Item j vestment of white damaske

Item j vestment of blake sarcenett

Item ij other olde vestments of dornyx & the other of whit damask branched

Item one other vestment of white fustyan

Item ij other olde silke vestments of diverse color all worne

Item ij olde chessables of deacon & subdeacon of sylke, and one cop of white damaske

Item one other cope of white silke imbrodered and one olde canapie of olde sarcenett

Item one olde cloth called a care cloth of red silke

Item one pall or herse cloth of blake velvet, & one other pall or herse cloth of blak worsted

Item on other of blake clothe

Item on olde coverlett to lay before the alter

Item one surples of lynnen

Item viij olde banner clothes of painted clothe

[Endorsed is a Memorandum of the same date made at Dartford that all goods "mentyoned in thynventorye made in the third yeare of the Reigne of our saide sovereigne lord ar conteyned within this presente Inventory and been delyvered by the within named Commissioners to the within named Churchwardens to answeere the same Excepte iiij pair of candlestykkys of latten one censer one holy water stokk one hand bell and one Sacrament bell of Brasse presented unto the saide Commysseyoners by the othes of" the churchwardens, to be sold by the said churchwardens for the repairs of the church.]

#### BEATHERISDEN—III DECEMBER VI ED. VI

John Attkynson, vycare; Thomas Twysnothe, Robert Bryssende, churchwardens, and John Smythe, yeoman of the gard, parishioner

Inprimis a challyse waying xij ounces of troy wayght

Item one cope of cloth of bawdkyn a vestment a deacon subdeacon of the same with other thyngs y<sup>to</sup> belongyng iij orphrases only excepted

Item a crosse clothe of sarcenat with ye pyctor of our Ladye & Aungells thereon

Item a cope of blewe sylke, a vestment deacon & subdeacon of the same



- Item a vestment of whyght damaske poudred with flowers of gold & a crosse of redd velvet theron
- Item a vestment of redd sarcenat with a crosse of brygys & a deacon to the same
- Item a deacon & subdeaken of chaingeable sylke
- Item xxx<sup>ii</sup> candlestycks of lattyn which stode in the Roode loft, & one lattyn pryckett
- Item one table of alabaster for the alter
- Item a base peare of organes
- Item ij old chests, ij here clothes
- Item a crosse staffe & iij banner staves
- Item v great bells in the Steeple
- Item a Sanctus bell
- Item lxxiiij<sup>b</sup> of lattyn sold in the fourthe yere of the reigne of the Kings Majestie that nowe is for the reparacon of the Churche by John Attkynson, Vycar, John Smythe parishioner & Steven Glow churchwarden, after iij<sup>d</sup> the pound, that ys to saye,—ij great candelstyckes, ij prycketts off laten, ij candelstycks for y<sup>e</sup> alter, a senser, a shyppe, and a pyxe off laten

## BEXLEY—XXIII NOVEMBER VI ED. VI

Thomas Hall curate or churchwarden.

Much of this Inventory is illegible.

- Item j candlestick of latten, one olde painted clothe for the sepulcre
- Item . . . old surplessis, ij olde rochetts, on old cloth for the font
- Item ij old blew clothes of canvasse for the roode loft
- Item on old vestment of grene dornex crossed with red and white, and on old vestmente of white fustian
- Item an old herse cloth of tawney silke
- Item ij cloths for the Crosse, on of red sarcenett, thother of grene silke
- Item on Cusshing of yelowre sarcenett embrothered with grene sarcenett
- Item on newe herse clothe of blak velvett embrothered with spld Egles of cloth of gold frenghed with silke, and lyned with blew buckram

- Item on cope of red with flowres and greffens of gold  
 Item on vestment of red velvett with all things belongyng to the same  
 Item on vestment of white tuke for lent with all thapparell to the same  
 Item ij old hangyngs for the alter of cloth of baudekyn  
 Item ij paire of curtens of sarcenet paned with red and white, & ij cuschings of red velvett with flowers of gold  
 Item one stole of red with flowers of gold  
 Item on byble and on paraphrasis of Erasmus  
 Item ij holy watter stokks of latten, xij bolles for candelsticks of latten & ij old hanging basons to sett on tapers  
 Item on pax of latten, on crysmatory of tynne and on cruett of powder  
 Item iij bells suted in the Steple, and one lytle bell, & one handbell  
 Item iij corporax cases with their clothes one of yelow and grene tyssewe with a pache on it, thother of silke

BYLSINGTON—IV DECEMBER VI. ED. VI

William Quythem, curate; James Smarte, churchwarden; Richard Tobe, John Godderd, Thomas Grymstyn, parishioners

- First a chalyce of coper & ij corparys  
 Item v alter clothes, & a cope of blewe sylke  
 Item another of grene sylke  
 Item ij surplesses, & ij chests  
 Item iij belles in the Steple  
 Sold to Danyell Cranmer, of bylsynton, a vestment of blewe satten with his albe  
 Item a vestment of Rossell worsted, and iij of white fustian  
 Item a crosse clothe of grene silke  
 Item iij aulter clothes  
 Sum. xiiij s. iij d.

BIRCHOLT—XXVIII NOVEMBER VI. ED. VI

William Halk & Jamys Mapisden, inhabitants

- First a vestment of yelow of old silk with an albe

Item a chalis of copper & gilt  
 Item ij bells in the Steple  
 Item a corporess cloth

## BONYNGTON—v. DECEMBER VI. ED. VI

Henry Raynesford, curate, Henry Filips church-  
 warden Symon Wix inhabitant

First one chalis of sylver weying ix uncs & di.  
 Item ij bells in the steple  
 Item iij vestments of dornex with one albe  
 Item one cope of purple velvet embrodered with gold  
 Item one crosse cloth of silk  
 Item iij altars clothez of playn cloth  
 Item one corporas cloth with the case  
 Mem. Stolen out of the churche beyng broken up a white  
 vestment with thyngs therto belongyng and ij surples  
 Item Sold by Roger Wells then churchwarden by the assent of  
 the parishe one vestment of grene sarcenet embrodered  
 & a canapy cloth about the Fest of the of Saynt  
 John anno regni Regis Edwardi sexti quinto for xv<sup>s</sup> which  
 remayneth in his hands

## BOOGHTON ALLUPHE. xxviii NOVEMBER VI ED VI

Sir Hugh David, vycar, Andrew Goffryth and  
 Robert Barrowe churchewardens

Fyrst ij chalys of sylver parcell gylte weying xxiiij owncs di.  
 Item one paxe of sylver parcell gylte weying iij owncs  
 Item ij olde coopes of blewe velvett  
 Item iij old coopes of sylke of dyverse colours  
 Item one vestment of blewe velvett  
 Item iij old vestments of sylke of dyverse colours  
 Item one canape of sylke of dyverse colours  
 Item ij aulter clothes of whyet lenen  
 Item iij towells of dyaper, & one towell of whyet lenen  
 Item ij smalle candelstycks of laten  
 Item iij bells in the steple, & one hande bell  
 Mem. That the viij<sup>th</sup> Daye of Nov. in the v<sup>th</sup> yere of the  
 reygne of our sovereyn lord Kynge Edward the Syxte the

wyndowes of the churche of Booghton were broken by thevys & these goods herafter specyfied were stolen, that ys to saye one vestment of yeolowe sylke, ij aulter clothes of whyet lenen, one ffront clothe of sylke of dyverse colours, one dyaper towell. Jamys Tennaker and Andrew Geffrythe then being churchwardens

BRABORNE XXVIII NOVEMBER VI. ED VI

Robert Haynez, vicar, Mathew Smyth & John Rolf  
churchwardens

- First a cope vestment deacon & subdeacon of blak velvett
- Item a cope vestment deacon & subdeacon of blew silk
- Item a vestment with an albe wrought with gold
- Item a vestment of red velvet with a cope of blewe silk
- Item a cloth of silk that was used to be laid uppon the sepulchre
- Item a frence of silk for the altar
- Item a crosse cloth of red silk, & another of Russett
- Item vj alter clothez of linnen, & iij playn towells
- Item ij dyaper towells, & a coverlett of color grene
- Item a cloth of threde that was wont to be borne over the sacrament
- Item a litle curteyn of blew & white
- Item a cloth that laid over the rode, & ij cussionez
- Item ij crossez of lattyn
- Item a vestment of dornex, & a hangyng to the high alter of fustyan apes
- Item iiij bells in the Steple
- Item a white linnen cloth with a blak seme of silk
- Item a chalice of sylver wayng by estimacion vj uncs by est.
- Item one herse bell
- Item a coverlett, a herse cloth, & ij lattyn candelstiks

BRENSETT—II<sup>d</sup> DECEMBER VI ED VI

Thomas Chapman, vicar, John Wybard, churchwarden, and Symon Cobbe, inhabitant

- First a chalice of silver weying iiij uncs

- Item one crosse with the staff of copper & gilt
- Item a vestment & j cope of red velvett
- Item another vestment of sattyn abrydgs
- Item ij albes, and a corporas with the clothe
- Item ij alter clothes & ij frenges of lynnyn
- Item iij towels
- Item iij gret bells, & ij hand bells
- Item iij candilstiks of lattyn
- Item a holy water stope of lattyn
- Item a payr of sensars of lattyn
- Item a font cloth with a frence of lynnyn

## BROKE—XXVIII NOVEMBER VI ED VI

John Sympson parson, Wyllyam Mychell, Roberte  
Howlyn churchwardens, John Howlyn, Thomas  
Bowes and Stephyn Dodd parishioners

- Imprimis a chalys of sylver parcell gylte weyinge xi unces, a  
pyxe of sylver weyinge fyve unces and an halfe and one  
quarter of an ounce
- Item a canapie of red saten, fyve vestements the beste of purple  
velvette the seconde of blewe damaske the thyrde of saten  
the fourthe of whyte Twelye and the fyfte of blacke and  
blewe clothe
- Item two copys the beste of blowe velvette the seconde of grene  
sylke, Syx aulter clothes of lynnyn very badde, and two  
surplecys, a canapie of wollen & lynnyn together, two laten  
candelstycks, a crysmatorye of laten, and three bells

## BROKLAND—III DECEMBER VI ED VI

Thomas Wud, constabull, George Brodene, curate,  
John Gybbes, churchwarden, Thomas Haroward,  
parishioner

- Fyrst one vestment of red velvett, & one vestment of blewe  
velvett with their albis & apparel to them
- Item one vestment of whyte sattyn, one old vestment of red  
sattyn, & one old vestment of red sylke with their albis, &  
apparell to them

- Item one cope of red velvett, one cope of blewe velvett, & one old cope of red silke
- Item ij ornaments for a dekyn & subdekyn of sylke, one front cloth of red & grene sattyn, ij front clothes of old red sylke, one old canabe cloth of sylke with iiij paynted stavys, ij corporas cases of red velvett, & one cloth in them
- Item ij pix clothes of red sylke, iiij alter clothes with sylke seames, vij course alter clothes, & iiij very old clothes, viij towells, one whyte cloth to cover the font with sylke seames, one deske cloth of dornyx, ij old surplices, & vi old rotchetts, one large whyte cloth with curteyn ryngs, one old vayle cloth of blewe & whyte lynyne, viij old banner cloths of stayned canvass
- Item ij greatt latten kansticks, iiij small latten kansticks, xliij kansticks bowles of latten & xxj cansticks bowles of tynne
- Item one chalys of sylver & gylt, ij chalys of clean sylver weying xxx ounces
- Item one old Crosse of copper & gylt with a staffe of copper & a cloth of grene sylke to hange uppon it, & one other old grene sylke cloth
- Item a pix, an old sensor, a crismatory, a hollywater pott, a bason, an ewer of brasse, & a jewell of coper & gylt with a beryll glasse
- Item in the Steple iiij small bells, & in the Church one warning bell, one hand bell, & one sacringe bell

## BROMELEY—XVI NOVEMBER VI. ED. VI

William Momford and Richard Mathewe church-wardens

- First one Crismatorye of silver being hole weyng xij ounces
- Item one pix of silver being hole xi ounces iij quarters
- Item ij cruetts of silver being hole .x. ounces
- Item one pax of sylver being hole vj ounces quarter
- Item one chalys of silver with his patente all gilt being hole weying xxij ounces di.
- Item one other chalis with the patente of sylver parcell gylt being hole as it is waying xvj ounces di.
- Item one other chalys with his patente of sylver parcell gylte being hole as it is waying ix ounces

- Item ij crosses of copper with one fote of copper to the same
- Item one pix clothe of clothe of gold
- Item one canapie cloth of grene saten of bridges
- Item one cope of blewe velvett embrothered with aungells and  
starres of clothe of gold, & one sute of vestments to the  
same
- Item one cope of purple velvett embrothered with aungels  
spled egles and fflowes
- Item one cope of chaungeable bawdkyn
- Item one cope of white satten of bridgs embrodered with  
flowers
- Item one vestment of blew velvet embrodered with flowers  
lakkyng an ames
- Item one cope of bawdekyn with a sute of vestments belong-  
ing to the same lakkyng an albe and a stole
- Item one vestmente of blewe damaske embrodred with flowers
- Item one vestment of white satten
- Item one olde vestment of dornyx with an albe
- Item one vestment & an albe of blake satten of bridgs imb-  
rodered with flowers
- Item one frunte clothe of tawney velvett with a border of  
clothe of golde and velvett perlede
- Item one frunt cloth of redd damaske embrodered with baude-  
kyn
- Item one herse clothe of blake satten of bridgs with one  
crosse of redd satten of bridgs
- Item one frunt cloth of redd damaske
- Item ij frunt clothes of canvas paynted
- Item ij corporaxes & iij corporax casis
- Item v crosse & banner clothes of paynted lynnene clothe
- Item one holy water stokke of brasce
- Item iij olde latten basons, one dishe, & iij cruetts of powder
- Item ij sensors of copper, & one shippe of the same
- Item ij crosse staves half plated with copper
- Item iij latten candlestiks, & ij litle candelstiks of latten
- Item one pix of copper
- Item ij pix clothes thone of nedle worke thother of old redd  
silke
- Item one paire of organs
- Item ij curtens of yelow and red saye for the quere
- Item ij towels thone of diaper thother of playne cloth

- Item v surplusses of linnen clothe  
 Item ij great standardes of brasse  
 Item one brasen lampe, & one hanging bason for the pastall  
 Item one funt clothe of linnen  
 Item xx little bolles of powder whiche did serve in the rode  
 loftes  
 Item one bible, and six alter clothes of linnen  
 Item iiij greate bells suted in the steple, one sants bell, and  
 iij lytle sacrying bells, one hand bell, & ij olde alter pil-  
 lowes  
 Item one paraphrasis of Erasmus  
 Item one lente vaile of linnen clothe  
 Item one booke of the homalies, & iij Englishe processioners  
 It. xxxix s. ij d. remayning of a crosse of silver sold by the  
 saide churchwardens  
 Endorsed is a mem. made at Estgrenewich xvi November vi  
 Ed vi that v olde Banner clothes and one crosse of silver  
 and gilte wayinge lvi ounces were sold for xiiij li. vi s. ix d.  
 of which all save xxxix s. ij d. has been layd out upon  
 reparacyons of the church

### BURMERSHE—A.D. MDLII

John Astyn, parson : Thomas Brodnax, John Davy,  
 churchwardens

- Fyrste a chalys of sylver vij oz  
 Item a cope of blew sylke  
 Item an other old cope of sylke  
 Item ij old vestements of sylke  
 Item a deacons cote of blew sylke  
 Item iiij alter clothes, a canaby clothe  
 Item iij bells in the Steple  
 Certayne things sold by the churchwarden & the parishioners  
 there for the inclosyng of the church yard & reparacons  
 of the bells and other nedeful reparacons  
 Fyrste ij vestments the one of green sylke the other of blew  
 velvett the crosse clothe & a crosse of coper, a cope of  
 green sylk ij latyn candelstiks & xvij boles of pewter sold  
 by Thomas Brodnax & John Davy for lxvi<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> aboute ij  
 yeres paste



ALL SEYNTS OF THE CITE OF CAUNTER-  
BURY—xx JULY vi Ed VI

William Parker & Rauff Ordermer chwdens

First a chalys of sylver clene gylte with the paten waying xv  
ounces di

Item a monstros of sylver clene gylte

Item a litill monstros of sylver clene gylte for the resurrection

Item a cope of cloth of tyssewe

Item a cope of rede Balkyn

Item a cope of blewe damaske

Item a hole sute of redd Balkyn lakkyng an albe

Item a chesible of redd damaske

Item a chesible of blak velvet with a white crosse

Item a chesyble of blewe sylke, a chesible of blak chamlet  
with a redd crosse

Item a chesible of white fustyan, a chesible of redd saten of  
bridgs with a white crosse

Item iiij corporases with their cases, an olde chesible of Balkyn,  
and old chesible of dornyx

Item a paire of organs

Item ij bells in the Steple & a waggerell bell

Item ij pecys of hangyngs before the peroles of the quyre

Item v curteyns of blewe bokeram, v curteyns of grene say

Item ij pyllers for to bere the sepulcre lyght, a standard for  
the pascall

Item iiij staves gylt. for the canapy, vj banner staves, two  
chists

Item a grete bere with a case to the same, a litill bere

Item a grete plater of wood for holy brede

Item fyve pecys of hangyngs for the awter for pryncypall dayes

Item a hangyng for the aulter of yelow & blewe bests

Item an old hangyng at the lower part of the high aulter

Item ij curtens of grene for the high aulter, ij old curtens of  
bukram in panes

Item a fronte of our Lady Chapell of rede saten & blak velvet  
enbrowdred with a bere [bear], a Frontlett of Fethers

Item ij crosse clothes of sylke one of the Trynyste an other of  
the assumpcon of our Lady

- Item iiij pyllowes of sylk for aulters, vij alter clothes of dyaper & playne cloth  
 Item ij stremers and iiij banner clothes  
 Item a vayle to hang before the alter, with Lenton clothes for the alters  
 Item ij Curtens with angells for aulters, ij curteyns of whyte sylke  
 Item ij Curteyns of staynyd cloth damaske worke, ij towells of dyaper  
 Item a Canaby of blewe damaske, a paire of paynted curtens with angells  
 Item a sepulcre cloth of red & blew chamlett, ij ffrengs for aulters of blewe  
 Item viij surplyces, a carpett, a coverlett, a canapy cloth of redd sylk  
 Item a Crysmatory of wode covered with coper plate  
 Item xxv pecys of lenten clothes  
 Wherof left in the churche for the mynystracon of Dyvyne servyce The chalys with the paten, a cope of blewe damaske, a cope of cloth of tysewe, a cope of redd balkyn, ij albes, viij surplycs  
 Item in the hands of Thos. Spylman Gent of the Stok of the plate of the churche solde xxxiiij li. iij s. ix d.

## SEYNT ELPHYE OF THE CITIE OF CAUNTERBURY

VI<sup>th</sup> DAY OF SEPTEMBER VI ED VIWill<sup>m</sup> Selbye & Will<sup>m</sup> Stevyns Churchwardens.

- First one chalys of sylver and gylt with a crucifyx of sylver  
 Item . . . chalys with the paten of sylver parcell gilt  
 Item . . . of sylver parcell gilt  
 Item . . . of cloth of tysewe  
 Item . . . of velvet and a vestment decon & subdecon of the same  
 Item one cope of blew velvet and a vestment decon & subdecon of the same  
 Item one cope of white damaske  
 Item two vestments of redd damaske  
 Item one cope of grene sylk and a vestment decon & subdecon of the same olde

- Item one vestement of whyte damaske
- Item one vestment of redd saten
- Item one vestment of whyte saten olde
- Item one cope of blewe worsted with a vestement
- Item one cope of white sylke
- Item one cope of blewe sylke
- Item one cope of grene sylke
- Item one cope of sylk with imags in the ffronte
- Item one chisible of blak saye
- Item a canapy of grene and redd saten of bridgs
- Item an alter cloth of the same
- Item an alter cloth of grene sylke
- Item a ffront of grene sylke with letters of golde
- Item an alter cloth of canvas wrought with golde
- Item for the ferialls ij alter clothes of the martyrdome of Seynt Elphye
- Item ij curtens of grene sylke with xys for the high aulter
- Item an . . . canaby of sylke, and another canaby of sylke olde
- Item a pell of yelowē sylke lyned
- Item one pyllowe of clothe of tyssewe
- Item two alter clothes with the fronte and ij curteyns
- Item two other alter clothes with a frunte and ij curteyns
- Item [two curtens] of grene sylke
- Item a frunte of grene sylk, and an aulter cloth
- Item ij other curtens with a ffronte and an aulter cloth, iij other ffronts
- Item a table cloth, a dyaper cloth with a crosse in the myddell
- Item a grete fyne shete olde, a course shete, an olde playne towell
- Item a litell playne towell marked with I & K
- Item a towell for an aulter cloth with a blak Crosse
- Item an olde fyne shete with blewe sylke
- Item a playne towell
- Item an other towell, a towell of dyaper with blewe mylyng
- Item a litill playne towell with a small ffrynge wrought with whyte at the ende
- Item a towell for the fonte taper
- Item a long towell
- Item vj aulter clothes with ffryngs, vj aulter clothes without ffryngs, v surplices

Item iij aluter clothes shorte good & badd, a cloth of dornyx  
for the deskt

Item a byble of the grete volume a paraphrasis

Item a salter boke, the Comunyon boke

Item ij chists with lokks in the belfrey, one other old chist  
with no lok

Item iiij other chists one of them for the poore folks mony

Item one paire of organs in the quyre

Item a new cupbord in the quyre with ij cupbords in one  
with lokks and keys

Item a long settill in the quyre with ij lokks

Item two fourmes wherof the parson hath one

Item a sepulcre with a frame wherof the parson hath the  
one syde

Item ij chaunge of hangyngs to the same sepulcre

Item certeyn Lent clothes

Item ij candelstyks of latten

Item ij holy water stoppys, one grete and a small

Item one bell for the dede peple

Item a long chist with a lok with certeyn torches

Item in the steple iiij bells and a wagerell bell

Item the comunyon table

Item two desks

Wherof left in the churche for the mynystacon of Divyne  
service

One chalys with the paten of sylver, one cope of cloth of  
tyssewe, . . . of blewe velvett, one cope of white baudkyn,  
ij albes, . . . vi aulter clothes, iiij towells, ij pells . . . good  
and . . . , booke of the servyce, the bells in the steple

In the hands of the Comysioners

One chalys sylver and parcell gylt, a crys . . . a pax of coper  
and gylte

In the hands of the churchwardens of Seynt Elphys of the  
stok of the plate by them sold xx li. v s. vij d.

## HOLY CROSSE OF WESTGATE OF THE CITIE OF CAUNTERBURY XVIII JULY VI Ed VI

John Harte & Nicholas Bele churchwardens

First one sute of vestments of red velvett uppon velvett & a  
cope to the same

- Item two other copes of redd velvett  
 Item one blewe vestment with decon & subdecon with fawcons  
 of gold & a cope to y<sup>e</sup> same  
 Item two copes of blewe velvett  
 Item one vestment of white damaske with decon & subdecon  
 Item iij copes of whyte damaske  
 Item one vestment of cloth of tyssewe  
 Item one red vestment with sonnys of golde decon & subdecon  
 & a cope of y<sup>e</sup> same  
 Item a forefront of white damaske with sonnys & letters of  
 gold  
 Item syx corporasses with the caces  
 Item ix alter clothes and towells  
 Item ij curtens of white silk and two curteyns of grenesilk for  
 the high alter  
 Item ij litill pylowes of redd velvett and one of blewe sylke  
 Item vij banner clothes  
 Item vj surplocys  
 Item one pyx of sylver and doble gilte wayng xxxij ounces  
 Item one grete chalys of sylver and gilt with the paten wayng  
 xxxiij ounces iij quartes of an ounce  
 Item one other chalys with a paten of sylver and gylte wayng  
 xxvj ounces  
 Item one other chalys with the paten sylver and gylte weying  
 xvij ounces iij quartes  
 Item one other chalys with paten of sylver parcell gylt wayng  
 xv ounces iij quartes half a quart  
 Item one crismatory of sylver parcell gylte lakkyng a fote  
 wayng xvij ounces iij quartes  
 Item one pyx of coper gylte with a cover of opyn work  
 Item v old chists, one olde coverlett, two paire of organs  
 Item iij bells and a wagerell bell in the Stéple  
 [Certain "detts" also mentioned.]

## SEYNT MARTYN OF THE CITIE OF CAUNTERBURY

xix<sup>th</sup> JULY VI ED. VI.

Bartylmewe Barham gent, and Stevyn Goodhewe  
 churchwardens.

Ffirst one chalys with the paten of sylver

Item one vestment of blewe velvett with a cope to the same

Item one vestment of whyte braunchyd damaske with a cope  
to the same

Item one other olde vestement with a cope to the same

Item two able clothes

Item one long towell, one short towell

Item ij corporas with their clothes

Item one velvet cushshon and one saten cushshon

Item ij chists, iiij surplysys

Item ij bells and one wagerell bell in the steple.

Wherof left in the churche for the mynystracion of dyvyne  
servyce

The chalys with the paten of sylver, one cope of blewe vel-  
vett, one cope of white braunched damaske, ij albes, ij  
table clothes, one long towell, and one short towell, iiij  
surplycys, the bells in the steple

## SEYNT MARGARETTES OF THE CITIE OF CAUNTER- BURY. xix JULY VI Ed VI

Wylliam Martin & Hamond Osbourne chw.

First thre chalysys with the patens of sylver

Item one ship and one pax of sylver

Item in stok of mony xv s.

Item the best cope of whyte damask garnysshed with angells  
& redd rosys

Item one other cope of white velvett with a redd lyon

Item one other cope of blewe cloth of tyssewe

Item one other cope of crimosyn velvet garnysshed with angells

Item one other playne cope of whyte damaske

Item the best vestment of purple velvett garnysshed with  
flowers

Item one other vestment of cloth of tyssewe and ij tynycles to  
the same

Item one other vestment of redd damaske with a crosse of  
blak velvett

Item one other vestment of whyte damaske

Item one other vestment of old blak velvett with a redd crosse

Item one vestment of whyte fustyan with a redd crosse

Item ij olde tynycles of blewe sylke with byrds, a pall of blak  
damaske

Item vj albes, x surplycys, iij table clothes, & a towell of  
 dyaper very large with imagery  
 Item a carpett for the table, and iiij small laten camdelstyks  
 Item one paire of olde organs  
 Item iij bells and the waggerell bell in the steple  
 Item one boke of the Communion, syx salters, and dne byble  
 of the grete volume  
 Item one boke of the paraphrasis of Erasmus  
 Wherof left in the Churche for the mynystracon of Dyvyne  
 service the best Chalys sylver & gilt wayng xxi ounces,  
 one cope of white damaske garnysshed with angells, a  
 cope of white damaske playne, ij albes, vj surplycs, iij bells  
 & the waggerell bell, a pall of blak damaske, iiij table  
 clothes & a towell, a carpett for the table, the books of  
 service

SEYNT MARY BREDNE OF THE CITE OF CAUN-  
 TERBURY XIX JULY VI ED. VI

John

& John Faunte Chw.

First two chalycys with the pattens of sylver  
 Item one cope of purple velvett  
 Item one cope of blew saten  
 Item one cope of grene sylk  
 Item iiij albes  
 Item iiij alter clothes  
 Item iiij surplycs  
 Item j grene coverlett  
 Item j towell for the childewyf<sup>1</sup>  
 Item j fonte cloth  
 Item iij bells & the waggerell bell in the Steple  
 Item the boke of the Paraphrasis of Erasmus  
 Item the boke of the Comen Prayer  
 Item the poore mens Chest  
 Item the Communion table  
 Item one bere  
 Item one shovill, one mattok, and one spade  
 Item one boke of the acte concernyng the rebells<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The midwife when at the font.

<sup>2</sup> Act 3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. v.

Item one desk, one chist in the storehouse

Item one ladder for the Steple

Item the Stok of mony belonging to the seid church in the hands of the seid churchwardens iiij li. xvij s. x d.

Wherof left in the hands of the churchwardens for the mynys-tracon of Dyvyne servyce

The best chalys with the paten of sylver, a cope of purple velvet, a cope of blewe saten, a cope of grene sylk, ij albes, iiij alter clothes, iiij surplycys, j grene coverlett, j towell for the childwyf, a font cloth, the bells in the steple, the books of the servyce.

In the hands of the comysyoners

One chalys of sylver with the paten

## OUR LADY OF NORTHGATE OF THE CITIE OF CAUNTERBURY xix JULY VI ED VI

John Clerk & Stevyn Jedbourne Chw.

First two chalycys with the patens one of them gylte & the other parcell gylt waying xiiij ounces di.

Item one cope of whyte damaske

Item one other cope of blewe velvett

Item one other cope of cloth of gold of old work

Item one vestment of redd velvett

Item one other vestement of whyte saten of bridgs

Item iiij surplycys, iij table clothes, one of them of blak work dyaper, one other of diaper and j of them playne, vj towells of dyaper

Item one coveryng of redd chamlett & blewe for the table

Item a curtayn of olde sarcenett, a herse cloth of blewe saten of bridgs

Item a pulpitt cloth of grene and redd sarcenett

Item iij chists, the poore mens chist

Item one byble, ij Sawter books, and ij books of the communion to syng on

Item one other boke of Communion for the prest

Item one boke of the homelyes

Item one boke of the paraphrasis of Erasmus

Item iij olde cussions, iij olde albes for vestments



Item iij bells in the Steple with a wagherell bell

Item one olde grene coverlett

Item an olde cloth of redd paynted canvas for the Communion  
table

Item the stok of the Church vj li.

Wherof left in the Church for the mynystracon of the Dyvyne  
servyce

One chalis of sylver & gylt, one cope of whyte damaske, one  
cope of cloth of gold of old work, ij albes, iiij surplices,  
ij table clothes, & ij towells, a herse cloth of blewe saten of  
bridgs, a coveryng of red chamlett and blewe for the  
table, a coveryng for the table of red paynted canvas, all  
the books of the servyce, the bells

In the hands of the Commysseyoners one chalys of sylver par-  
cell gylt xiiij ounces

## SEYNT PAULE OF THE CITIE OF CAUNTERBURY

XIX SEPTEMBER VI Ed VI.

Robert Yong and George Blossom churchwardens

First one chalys with the paten of sylver and gylt

Item one other chalys with the paten of sylver and parcell gylt

Item a monstrons of sylver parcell gylt

Item one cope of grene cloth of tyssewe

Item one grene cope of saten of bridgs powdred with flowers  
of golde with a vestment and one tunycle of the same

Item one tunycle of blewe velvett

Item iij olde copys, ij of bawdekyn and one of worsted

Item an olde vestment of bawdekyn with the albe

Item iij olde bad vestments without albes

Item ij olde tuncycles of linnen cloth

Item a vestment of redd damask with a crosse of blak velvett

Item a vestment of whyte saten with a crosse of redd and the  
albe

Item an olde vestment of bawdekyn sore worne with a blak  
crosse without an albe

Item, an olde blak vestment of worsted with the albe

Item, a blewe vestment of saten of Bridgys with a redd crosse  
and the albe

Item one white vestment of bawdekyn with the albe

- Item one vestment of redd bawdekyn with a blewe crosse &  
ij tunycles without albes
- Item litill albes for children to bere tapers
- Item v surplycys good and bad
- Item ix corporas cases
- Item vij aulter clothes good and badd
- Item a coverlett of arrys work olde
- Item vj towells good and badd, ij napkyns of dyaper
- Item a cloth of redd damaske to lay uppon corses and for  
weddyngs
- Item vj olde cussjons in the quyre, v small cussjons of sylke  
and dornyx
- Item an old canapy of lynen cloth paynted
- Item iij bells and a wagherell bell, a bell for the klok, a payr of  
organs
- Item ij bells to bere before peple to burying
- Item a byble, a paraphrasis, a boke of the Communyon, ij  
prynted Salters
- Item iij chists one of them for the poore mens mony
- Item a treangle<sup>1</sup> for copys, a presse
- Item ij grete candelstyks of latten, and ij holy water stoppys
- [Here are enumerated six "Detts to the churche" in the  
handes of Robert Yong, John Michell, John Bee for Rob<sup>t</sup>  
Paynter, John Bee for himself, John Twyne (alderman)  
and the Vicar there.]
- Wherof left in the churche for the mynystracon of Dyvyne  
Servyce, one chalys with the paten of sylver and gylt,  
one cope of grene cloth of tyssewe, one grene cope of  
saten of bridgs, ij albes, v surplycs, a cloth of redd  
damaske to lay uppon ded corses, vij aulter clothes, vj  
towells, ij napkyns of dyaper, vj old cussjons, in the quyre  
v small cussjons of sylk and dornyx, all the books of the  
new Servyce

# SEYNT MILDREDE OF THE CITIE OF CAUNTER- BURY. . . 11<sup>th</sup> JULY VI ED VI

Barnard Bonnard & Thomas Stoks Chw.

First one chalys with the patent of sylver & parcell gylt

<sup>1</sup> A crane or stand for hanging copes in the vestry.

- Item one cope of cloth of tyssewe
- Item one other cope of crymosyn velvett
- Item one other cope of blak velvett
- Item one vestment of blewe velvet with the albe
- Item one other vestment of red damaske with the albe
- Item one other vestment of grene sylk with the albe
- Item one other blewe vestment with a crosse of grene sylk  
lakkyng the albe
- Item one other vestment of white ffustyan with a redd crosse  
lakkyng the albe
- Item iiij surplecys
- Item vij table clothes
- Item one paire of sensers of coper & gylte
- Item iiij bells in the steple & the wakerell bell
- Item there is in the hands of the seid Barnard Bonnard and  
Thomas Stoks of the remayne of the value of the goods  
by them & other solde xii li. v s. and the widowe of  
Nicholas Hart oweth to the churche xiiij s iiij d
- Wherof left in the churche for the mynystacon of Dyvyne  
service
- The Chalys with the paten of sylver, one cope of cry-  
mosyn velvett, j cope of blak velvet, ij albes, iiij sur-  
plecys, iiij table clothes, the bells in the Steple

THE HOSPYTALL OF EST[BRIDGE] OF THE CITIE  
OF CAUNTERBURY xx JULY VI ED VI

William Parker & Richard Ordermer ChW. of All  
Seynts, & Henry Wattkyn keper

- First one chalys with the paten of sylver parcel gilt wayng  
xv ounces di in the hands of M. Swerder
- Item one vestment of grene saten with thapparell
- Item one other vestment called Corpus Christi Vestment with  
thapparell of grene saten with a crosse of red saten
- Item one alter cloth of dyaper, a corporas case with the cloth
- Item a hangyng before the aulter with ij ffryngs of sylke
- Item a payre of curtens of yelowre sylke
- Item an other paire of curtens of paynted clothes
- Item a hangyng before the aulter of paynted cloth
- Item a pax of amell and bras

Item ij cusschons of sylke  
 Item an here cloth to lay on the aulter, a carpett cloth for the  
 aulter, a super altare, a coper crosse, a holy water stok  
 Item a paire of crewetts, a paire of candelstyks of laten  
 Item a buryall bell, and a small bell  
 Item ij bells in the belfrey  
 Item a paire of organs  
 Item a pece of a canaby and the toppe of a senser  
 The seid goods remayne in the hands of Henry Watkyn  
 The ij ffyrngs of sylk were delyvered for wrytyng of the books

THE HOSPYTALL OF SEYNT JOHANNES WITHOUT  
 NORTHGATE OF THE CITIE OF CAUNTER-  
 BURY.. JULY VI Ed VI

Cristofer Sprott Priour

First one vestment of blak velvett, with a crosse of redd vel-  
 vett and all the apparell therto belongyng  
 Item two vestments of whyte fustyan with thapparell to them  
 belongyng  
 Item one old grene vestment with the apparell to the same be-  
 longyng  
 Item ij albes, iiij amys clothes  
 Item one vestment of redd velvett with thapparell to the same  
 belongyng  
 Item one crosse cloth of grene sylke  
 Item one cope of blewe saten  
 Item one corporas with a case to it and a towell  
 Item one whyte cope  
 Item iiij surplycys  
 Item one chalys with the paten of sylver  
 Item one albe to occupye for every day  
 Item thre bells in the Steple  
 Item syx lityll bells sometyme called Sacryng bells  
 Item xij playne table clothes, and v dyaper alter clothes  
 Item viij dyaper towells, and fyve playne towells  
 Item iiij rochetts, ij payre of curtens of lynyen cloth  
 Item one payre of shetys, and one hand towell of dyaper  
 Item one cussdyn of sylke, and one of white lynyen cloth

Item ij chists, and a lent cloth that went crosse the church.  
 Wherof left in the Church for the mynystracon of Dyvyne  
 Service

One chalys of sylver with the paten, one cope of blewe saten  
 of brids, one cope of whytt fustyan, iiij surplices, iiij  
 aulter clothes, iiij towells

### CAPELL—III<sup>rd</sup> Ed VI

John Foot, vicar; Wyllyam Gybbe and Robert  
 Mount churchwardens

Item in the Stepyll ij smale bells

Item a crosse of latyn

Item one cope of whytt fustyan

Item iiij vestments

Item ij aulter clothes

Item iiij towells

Item ij olde surplesys

Item ij lyttyll latten candylstycks

Item a holy water Stocke of latten

Item one senser of lattyn

Item a crosse clothe of sylke

Item a byble, & dyvers other olde bucks

Solde & bestowed uppon the reparacons of the church one  
 chalys of sylver by estymacon vj unces., and one cope of  
 crymsen velvett xxxijs.

### CHALLOCKE IN THE HUNDRETHE OF FYLBO- ROUGH. xxviii<sup>th</sup> NOVEMBER VI Ed. VI.

Robert Lumnes curatte, John Barnes & Alexander  
 Cadman, churchwardens

Firste a sylver crosse whiche ys parcell gylte and amelyd  
 weyenge xliij ounces whiche ys in the keypyng of John  
 Hawker and Rob. Thurston, fower bells in the Steple,  
 one hand belle, two copes one of blewe velvette and the  
 other of crymson velvette, two vestements one of blewe  
 velvett and the other of crymson velvette, item one cope  
 and two vestementts for quotydyans, one crosse clothe of  
 sylke, a bason and an ewer of latyn, fower aulter clothes,  
 and vj towells, and two tenacles of grene sylke

## CHARRENG—III DECEMBER 1552

Robert Tompson priest & curate; John Huttchyn  
& Robert Terry churchwardens Henry Elstow  
parishioner

Imprimis a challyse with a patent of sylver parcell gylt waying  
xiiij ounces

Item a crosse of copper & a paxe of lattin

Item a vestment of clothe of tyssue, & a vestment of crymson  
velvett

Item iij copes of whyt damaske, & a suet of tawney damaske

Item a sute of bawdkyn, & a vestment of blewe taffatawe

Item a alter clothe of popyngay<sup>1</sup> sarsnat with curtaines

Item a alter clothe of redd & yolewe sattyn of brygges with the  
curteynes

Item an alter clothe of grene sarcenatt with curtyns

Item a crosse clothe of sarsnett

Item a streamer of sarcenett with a pyctor of S<sup>t</sup> Georg

Item a bassyn & a ewer of pewter

Item ij stander candlestycks

Item iij lattyn candlestycks, & viij boll candelstyks

Item a carpet, a coverlett, & v corproresses

Item a lattyn holy water stock, & ij hand bells

Item fower bells in the steeple, & a sauncts bell

Item a crosse of coper gylt with a foote.

Item solde to master John Brent a chaleys & a pax of silver  
weying xxj ounces & haulf a quarter for v li. vjs. viij d.

Item first leyed owt for the repracyons of our church  
for tember & caryage of the same to make  
schengle

xiiij s.

Item I payd for makyng vj thowsen of schyngle &  
iiij honder

xxix s.

Item I payd for leying of the sayd schyngle

xxxv s.

Item I payd for leying of iijj hondr. & for nayles for  
the same

x s.

Item I payd for wrytting of Godys Word in our  
cherche<sup>2</sup>

viiij s.

Item I payd for a newe boke

iiij s. iiij d.

Signed Robert Tompson.

<sup>1</sup> Parrot coloured.

<sup>2</sup> Texting of the Church.

Richard Synger, parson ; John Yonge and William  
Richardson, churchwardens

All the residue of the goods conteyned in the Inventory of  
iii Ed VI & not included in the present inventory were sold  
by the churchwardens with consent of the parishioners.

John Abbey curate; John Reve and John Clerk  
churchwardens : Willm. Rygdon and John Browne  
parishioners

Item iij baner clothes with a stremer of lynneth cloth paynted.

Thys ys to certify you that we Will<sup>m</sup> Rygdon, John Reve, John Browne, John Clark & James Tere by the advyse of Master Freman, Mr. Lytylcote and other of the parish have sold unto Master Hart sumtyme of the Mynte at Cantorbery a chalys of sylver wayeng xii uz. the price of the unce iiij s. viij d. The hole sum lvj s. And the money therof comyng have bestowed upon the reparacions of the stone bredg at Shamfforth strete in the parish aforesayd mending of a hyghway & reparacyons of the church. Whych reparacions were done in the moneth of Nov. in the iiij<sup>th</sup> yere of the reine of our soveraigne lord Kyng Edw. vj. in such parcells as folowyth

First payd to Wm. Rygdon for xxvij lods of stone & the caryage xiiij s. vj d.

Item for the caryage of xvij lodes of sande viij s. vj d.

Item for vij semys of lyme & the caryage iij s. vj d.

Item payd to John Reve for xv semes of lyme vij s. vj d.

Item payd to James Tere for doynge of the reparacyons of the church xvj s.

Item payd to Mr. Lytylcote for mending the hyeway leadyng from Chartham Church to Bovehalls x s.

Sum total lix s.

#### CHELSELD—xxiii NOVEMBER vi ED VI

Raff Dowell, curate; John Cawstone and Richard Brasier churchwardens

First j chalice with the patent of silver wayeng xj ounces

Item iij bells in the Steple suted of brasse

Item on cope, & a vestment of blue velvett with ij tinnacles to the same withoute albes

Item on hand bell of brasse

Item on book of the Bible, & on other booke of the Paraphrasis of Erasmus.

Mem. endorsed Dartford xxiii<sup>rd</sup> November vi Ed vi All goods in the inventory of iii Ed vi are in this & are now delivered to the churchwardens excepte one chalice with the patent of silver and gilt wayeng xi ounces one cope and one vestment of clothe of tyssue declared to be sold for reparacons of the church.



## CHERYTON—v DECEMBER vi Ed VI

Wylliam Whittykk churchwarden

- Imprimis a chalyce of sylver xii unces parcell gylte  
 Item a cope of grene velvett & tawny sylke imbrodered  
 Item a vestymment of grene velvet imbrodered  
 Item a vestymment of purple velvet imbrodered  
 Item a vestymment of whytt braunched damaske imbrodered  
 Item one albe to the vestment  
 Item a crosse of copper with a staff  
 Item a crosse cloth of grene sylke  
 Item a iij bells in the Steple  
 Item a corporas case of crymsyn velvett  
 Item j cushion of cloth of gold  
 Sold ij hand bells, ij laten candelsticks a laten censer, and a  
 pyxe for vjs. viij d.  
 Sold a canapy cloth for xx d.  
 Stollen out of the church & steple at ij tymes, ij copys, iij  
 vestymments with all thapparell, iij alter clothys, iij towells,  
 a coverlett, iij surplussis for a priestte, & ij for the clerke.

## CHESILHERST—xxiii NOVEMBER vi Ed VI

Henry Elys and John Miles churchwardens

- First one chalice with his patent of silver & gilte weying  
 xx ounces  
 Item ij cops on of blewe chamblett, & on other of old red silke  
 Item vij vestments with six albes, & on alter cloth  
 Item ij pair of shets of playne cloth  
 Item v howslyng towells, ij of diaper & iij of playne clothe  
 Item on litle hand towell of lynnen for thighe alter  
 Item on fyne keverchefe of lynnen cloth  
 Item on canapie of stayned lynen clothe  
 Item j pece of red velvett for the crosse on Good Frydaye  
 Item on care clothe of red silke for Weddyng  
 Item on vale clothe of lynnen painted  
 Item xij banner clothes, & ij crosse clothes of old silk for the  
 crosse  
 Item iij great bells suted of brasse in the Steple, & one  
 Saints bell of brasse

Item ij hand bells, & iij sacryng bells of brasse

Item ij stayned clothes of lynnene clothe for the fount

Item ij stayned lynnene clothes, on for the sepulchre thother for the roode

Item on paynted lynnene clothe for the deske

Item on bible of the large Volume

Item on paraphrasis of Erasmus.

Mem. endorsed Dartford xxij November vi Ed vi All goods in the inventory of iij Ed. vi are in this & are now delivered to the churchwardens excepte on chalice with the patente of silver parcell gilt wayng viiiij ounces ij copes of red velvett ij vestments iij alter clothes ij hand towells iij corprax cases and iij corpraxes on pix of copper one pix clothe, on pix & a red corprax on crosse of copper and gilte one herse cloth two clothes to hange before thalter ij surplusses and ij rochetts presented to be stollen and also except ij cruetts of silver parcell gilt wayng v ounces di the byndyng of a pax with silver weying one ounce di likewise presented to be sold for reparacions of the churche

CHYLHAM IN THE HUNDERTH OF PHYL-  
BOROWE—xxvi<sup>th</sup> DAY OF NOVEMBER VI EDWARD  
VI

Syr Rychard Davys curatt there & John Wattson  
& Reynold Amys churchwardens, Rychard  
Morrys, Thomas Petytt, gentyllmen, John  
Barber, Alyxander Amyce parishioners

In primis one vestment with ij tynnacles for deacon & sub-deacon of red velvet imbroderyd and iij albes with the apparyll

Item one cope of cloth off bawdkyng red & whytt

Item one other cope off black Russell worstyd course & off whyt clothe of bawdkyn

Item one vestment of the same sueyt with the albe & apparyll

Item one vestment of dornyx blew & red

Item one other vestment of baudkyng grene & red & an albe with the apparyll

Item an old vestement off course sylke myxyd with whyt  
flowers

Item one vestment off blew velvet imbroderyd with y<sup>e</sup> albe  
& apparyll

Item one old vestment with ij old tynnacles of sylck saye

Item ij tynnacles off cades myxyd with dyvers colers

Item iij vestments wherof one off whyt fustyan, one off cades &  
one other of bawdkyng

Item one other off whyt clothe with flowers payntyd upon yt

Item one other vestment off red cloth off bawdkyng with the  
albe & apperyll

Item one chalys with a patyn all gyltt wayeng .xv ouncys & iij  
quarters

Item one other chalys all gyltt wayeng ix ouncys one quarter

Summe of the ouncys off the gylt platt xxv<sup>u</sup> ouncys

Item one chalys of sylver parcyll gyltt with a patyn of sylver  
wayeng a xj ouncys & a quarter

Item the patyn off a chalys ungyllt wayeng iij ouncys quarter oz.

Sum of the ouncys xiiij oz. & halfe a quarter

Item in y<sup>e</sup> Stepull in there frames v bells & in the same  
Stepull on lytell bell

Item ij bells caulyd hand bells

Item x corporacys casys & a xj clothes of lynyen in them good  
& bade

Item xij alter clothes ij be of dyaper & x off playn cloth lynyen

Item ix towells wherof v be of dyaper & iiij of playn

Item a cotte for the Roode<sup>1</sup> off gren satyn off brygys

Item ij payntyd clothes, and an old cloth of thred

Item vij small pecys off lawne

Item ij payer off gret candyllstyckes off latyn, another payer  
of small candelstycks of latyn

Item one payer off cencers off latyn

Item j C of boolls for candylstyckes off latyn

Item a basen & an ewer off latyn

Item an holy water stocke off latyn

Mem. divers of the vestments & other ornaments be worn &  
bade.

Imprimis sold by the hands of John Watson, churchwarden  
with the consent & assent of Thomas Whyte, Esquyer,

<sup>1</sup> A mantle for the Crucifix.

Richard Morrys, gent, John Barber, John Pyme, Alyxander Amyc, with other of the parishioners there unto Wyll<sup>m</sup> Petyt gent one chalys all gylt wayeng xvi oncs & a quarter for the sum of iiij li.

Item one other chalys sold unto Richard Morris gent. weying xi ouncys a quarter d price xlvij s.

Item sold unto Thos. Petyt gent one sueyt of whytt damaske with ther apparyll & one red coope of sylcke and a canapy clothe for iij li. vj s. viij d.

Item sold to John Pym one vestment of red sylck imbroderyd, with ij tynnacles of y<sup>e</sup> same sueyt xl s.

Sum xj li. xiiij s. viij d.

Off the whiche was dew unto Moyses Hall beyng churchwarden the yere last before, upon hys accompt iij li. vij s. vij d.

Item layd out by the Wardens unto John Pym for vj M<sup>h</sup>tyle & xij T of tylyng lath liij s.

Item to Tho. Phylpott for xx<sup>d</sup> seames of lyme xiiij s. iiij d.

Item for j sum of prygs & ij M<sup>h</sup>aylls xiiij s. iiij d.

Item for new rypping and layeing of the ij chancell xxxv s. iiij d.

Item for vj loodes of sand to Herry Maxtyd vj s.

Item to John Nycolson for mendyng of the bell stockes ij s. viij d.

Item for makyng of ij bell roopes x d.

Item for makyng of y<sup>e</sup> third bell clapper & bryngyng whome v s. iiij d.

Item for makyng of ij baldryckes, and for a new bockell xij d.

Item for sprycks & naylles xv d.

Item for vj mens expencys at the Vysytacyon at Crondall & for makyng off the certyfycatt to the Ordynary iij s. iiij d.

Item for makyng of the gret bell rope v d.

Item for the boke caulyed the Bok of y<sup>e</sup> Comen Prayer vj s.

Item to the Clarck for wrytyng ij s.

Sum x li. xij s. xj d. ob.

Remaynyng xxj s. viij d. ob.

CODEHAM—XXIII NOVEMBER VI. ED. VI.

Christopher Thomson, vicar, Thomas Bustede &  
John Maye, churchwardens

First ij crosses of copper

- Item iij candlesticks of latten
- Item one cope of red damaske
- Item iiij vestments, ij of white damaske, one other of blewe  
silke & thother of red fustyan an apes<sup>1</sup>
- Item iiij albes sorted to the same vestments
- Item ij surplusses, a rochet of lynnyn, & on pix of latten
- Item ij alter clothes of lynnyn, & on old herse cloth of saye
- Item ij olde towells of lynnyn
- Item on litle hand bell of brasse
- Item iiij bells in the steple suted of brasse
- Item on holy water stoppe of latten
- Item xvij bowles of latten for candles to stand upon
- Item on canapie cloth of lynnyn paynted.
- Mem. endorsed Dertford xxiii November vi Ed vi All goods  
in the Inventory of iii Ed vi are in this & are now  
delivered to the churchwardens excepte one chalice with  
the patente of silver parcell gilte wayng xvj ounces  
on pax of silver wayng xii ounces di, iij corprax cases  
with iij corpraxes ij cruetts of tyme a cross cloth iij  
Banner clothes & a stremer of blewe silke presented to be  
stollen. And also excepte on other chalice with the  
patente of silver and gilte wayng xvi ounces one cope of  
red dornex on old coverlett on sepulchre clothe of lynnyn  
and xij bowles of pewter lyke wyse presented to be sold  
for reparacons of the church

CRAYFORD—XVI NOVEMBER. VI. ED : VI.

Thomas Harman Esquire & Frauncis Goldsmythe  
gent churchwardens Robert Hastlyn & Robert  
Skottson, parishioners

- First j olde cope of grene silke, & iij surplusses
- Item iij greate bells of bell mettell hanging in the Steple  
there
- Item iiij banner staves, & j bible
- Item j boke of the paraphrasis of Erasmus, & j pillow of grene  
silke

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes written in Lincolnshire and Surrey Inventories fustian  
Napulls, but in those of Worcestershire Fustian apes or napps

Mem. this be the parcells of thinventory made in the iij<sup>de</sup> yeare of the kyngs reigne that now is

The said churchwardens boght thees parcells herafter following synce the making of the Inventory in the saide iij<sup>rd</sup> yeare

First j cuppe of sylver waying viij ounces j quart, to receive y<sup>e</sup> comunion

Item j newe deske & j newe table of waynscott for the peple to receyve the Comunion

Item j lynnyn clothe for the said table

Mem. Endorsed Estegrenewich same date, etc., presented that "one chalice with the patent of silver parcell gilte waying xj ounces iij quarters one olde cope of Cremsen velvett with on alter cloth, and a Canapie of the same one very old vestment of blew velvitt ij alter clothes and a vestment of blewe & blakk saten of Bridgs four knobbes of silver and gilt that hanged on the Canapie cloth waying one ounce iij quarters di on alter cloth of Cremson satten and blakke velvett ij deacons ij alter clothes one vestment of blakke velvett and purple damaske ij other copes thone of blewe and thother of grene silke a banner cloth with diverse other olde peces that were uppon thalbes with scoles and phanetts (lls ?) iij stremer clothes one border for an alter with foure corporax cases one cope one alter cloth of white damaske ij copes of damaske on of satten iij vestments & a cope of dornyx ij vestments and a deacon very old one cope of purple dammaske with iij vestments of dornyx conteyned in the saide first Inventory were sold . . . for the some of xxij li xiijs jd & with percell of the saide mone have bought a cuppe of silver within written cont. viij ounces j quarter for the receipte of the Comunyon . . . all the residue of the saide moneys is employed in repair of the church," etc., & "makyng a newe clocke in the steeple." And also presented "that all the residue of the goodes conteyned within the saide firste inventorye were at severall tymes stollen"

## CRONDALE—XXVIII DAY OF NOVEMBER VI ED: VI

Thomas Nightyngale parson, and John Lancefeld  
& John Chapman churchwardens

- First a chalice the fote & patent of copper and the boll of  
sylver parcell gilt wayenge v uncs & di & a quarter  
Item a pix of lattyn with a canapy of red & grene satten with  
a ffringe of silk  
Item a crismatory of lattyn, ij lattyn candilstiks  
Item iij copez, the one white damaske the second of grene silk  
and the third of red silk  
Item iij vestments the best red silk the second grene silk the  
third of grene & blew thred  
Item a hangyng altar cloth with ij curtenz of red say and grene  
Item iij altar linnen altar clothez, ij hangyng altar clothez  
with ij curtens of red & grene say  
Item a canapy of changeable silk, iij towells, iij corporas clothez  
with the cases, iij surplesez & a linnen vayle, ij coverletts  
Item iij bells in the steple

## DARNT AND THE CHAPELL OF ST. MARGARET HILL—XIII NOVEMBER. VI. ED: VI.

[Four entries illegible]

- Item on vestment of red sarcenett . . .  
Item on vestment of dornix with a crosse of white ,  
with all things belongyng to the same  
Item a vestment of red say chekkred without any . . .  
Item a vestment of white & blew dornix without . . .  
Item a vestment with a white crosse of fustian  
Item ij copes on of white dornix thother yelowse silk . . .  
Item ij for deacon & subdeacon of sylke . . .  
Item j clothe of linnen . . .  
Item iij olde alter clothes of linnen, & ij candelstikks of . . .  
Item a holy water stokk of lede  
Item one paire of censers of latten  
Item ij old cortens of silk all playne & ij yrons for the same  
Item one crysmatorie & ij cruetts of powder  
Item iij bells of bras suted in the steple

Item ij small bells both of brasse

Item of lynnen

Item a Bible of the largest volume & a paraphrase remaining  
in the possession of Christopher Draper gent.

### ST. MARGARETT HYLLES.

First on chalice with the patente of silver and parcell gilte  
waying x ounces and iij half

Item one bason of pewder

Item on vestmente of grene dornix with red and yelow  
withoute albe and ames

Item on vestment of grene & tauney sarcenet with thappur-  
tenances

Item on vestment of lyght tawney sarcenett with thappur-  
tenances

Item on vestment of grene chekkred silke with thappurtenances

Item on vestment of grene dornyx with whit braunches  
lakking . . .

Item on vestment of whit & blewe dornix with thappurtenances

Item on vestment of red and blewe dornyx without enything  
to it

Item on olde cope of tauney silke with grene braunches

Item j corprax clothe with iiij cases, one of velvett with Jesus  
on it, one of blew saye with a chalice wrought on it, on  
of grene silke, & on other of lighte tauney silke with blew  
straks

Item one care cloth of dornyx

Item ij old towells of diaper

Item on alter clothe of diaper

Item on olde towell of lynnen

Item on alter cloth of lynnen with a frontell of silke

Item on surples of lynnen

Item ij bells suted of bras in the steple

Item iij olde chests

Item on cross of latten

Item on crismatori of tynne remaining in the possessyon of  
the saide Christopher Draper.

[Endorsed is an illegible entry of stolen goods, &c.]



## DARTFORD—XVI NOVEMBER. VI: ED VI:

John Britte and Thomas Pellman churchwardens

- First one crosse of silver & gilte waying fyfty ounces  
 Item one foote for the same crosse of copper & gilte  
 Item one pix of silver and gilte with perle and stone waying  
 xxij<sup>u</sup> ounces  
 Item one chalice with the patente of silver and gilte with  
 parcell ameled waying xxvj<sup>u</sup> ounces di  
 Item one other chalice with the patente of silver and gilt way-  
 ing xvi ounces  
 Item on other chalice with the patent of silver and gilt way-  
 ing xiiii ounces  
 Item on other chalice with the patente parcell gilt waying  
 ix ounces di  
 Item on crismatorye of silver and gilte waying xxij<sup>u</sup> ounces  
 Item ij candlestikks of silver parcel gilte waying lix ounces  
 Item ij censers of silver parcell gilte waying lvij ounces  
 Item one shippe of silver parcell gilt with a spone of silver  
 waying vij ounces di  
 Item on pax of silver parcel gilt waying xv ounces  
 Item on pax of Iverye with a bonde of silver  
 Item on cope of cremsen velvett imbrothered with venys gold  
 with the vestment, deacon and subdeacon suted with  
 thalbes to the same  
 Item on cope of purple velvett imbrothered with gold with iij  
 clapses and iij exes to the same  
 Item ij copes of blewe velvett imbrothered with venys gold  
 Item on cope of red damask imbrothered with venys gold and  
 silver  
 Item one cope of red velvett imbrothered with venys gold  
 with on vestment to the same suted with thalbe thereto  
 belongyng, and on cope of white damaske with the vest-  
 ment imbrothered with gold and thalbe to the same, & also  
 one cope old of silke of crane coloure spangled with gold  
 all worne  
 Item one white w. [estment] of course bustyan with thalbe to  
 the same  
 Item on old vestment imbrothered with thalbe therto all worne  
 and of litle value

- Item ij old tynnacles caled vestments of grene clothe imbrothered with rose sylke
- Item ij old tynnacles caled vestments wherof one of blew sylke another of grene silke
- Item xij corpraxcases, & xj clothes to the same, wherof on of red satten with on picture of the Trynitye imbrothered upon cloth of tyssue
- Item an other of black velvett imbrothered of both sides
- Item on of tynsen imbrothered with a lyon of gold
- Item an other of crane colored silke imbrothered with gold
- Item ij of chaungeable sarcenett imbrothered with flowers of course gold
- Item on of crymsen velvett spangled with gold, & on other of old red velvet imbrothered with gold
- Item on of blew & white silke, an other of yelowe and whit silke of course nedlework
- Item on of course blew silke spangled with gold
- Item on old corprax of black worsted imbrothered with course gold
- Item iiij old copes of silke all worne & of little value
- Item one old deacon of white damaske with thalbe to the same all worne & of smale value
- Item one herse cloth imbrothered with venys gold half red half blak velvett
- Item ij hanging alter clothes, on for above another beneth paned with on pane of purple velvett and the reste with panes of yelowe and grene damask, with ij curteynes of grene chaungeable sarcenett
- Item one other hanging alter clothe of satten of bridgs paned with whit & grene of the same
- Item ij curteynes of course sarcenett of grene & white coloure frenged with yelowe red and blacke silke, & on pair of curteynes of blacke & yelowe sarcenett
- Item xxj alter clothes of diaper good and badde, & viij of plaine cloth good & bad
- Item xiiij diaper towells good & bad, and on course towell of plaine cloth
- Item one canapie cloth of yelowe sarcenett frenged with red silke & gold heretofore used for the sacrament, & on other of olde brown silke for the sacrament
- Item iiij old albes of plaine clothe, & vj small cushings

Item v surplesses, & ij rochetts of linnen clothe, ij bibles, & on paraphrasis of Erasmus

Item on deske of latten called the Egle, & on paire of organes

Item iiij bells suted in the steple, on smalle bell called the Dollyng bell

Item on handbell of brasse for buryalls.

Mem : Whereit appereth unto the saide Comysioners that the saide churchwardens & inhabitaunts there being a very greate parishe be destitute of cuppes to receyve the communion in and were determyned heretofore to sell and alter one chalice with the patent of sylver and gilte wayng xxvj<sup>4</sup> ounces di, & one other chalice with the patent wayng ix ounces di. & one pax of silver parcell gilte wayng xv ounces above witten, which the saide Comysysoners have ordered to be exchaunged by the saide Churchwardens for ij cuppes to receyve the comunyon in to amount to the like weyghte & value.

Mem. endorsed Dartford xxiii November vi Ed. vi : All goods in the inventory of iii Ed. vi. are in this & are delivered now to the Churchwardens, "excepte on cope of blewe velvett of the thirde sute vj hanging alter clothes iiij thereof of satten and iiij of blewe damaske presented to be sold for reparacions of the churche and also excepte on vestment of red silke imbrothered with venis gold and the tynnacle to the same apperteynyng presented to be stollen and also excepte on deacon of old blakk silke embrothered for to make on herse cloth & on canapie clothe of redd bustyan silk & one tynnacle of the same silke and coloure altered for to make a cover for the table for to receyve the communion on "

DEPFORD *alias* WESTGRENEWICHE—xvi No-  
VEMBER VI. Ed : VI.

Stephen Pott and John Harloke, churchwar-  
dens.

First j cope of cremysen damaske imbrothred with gold

Item j herse cloth of bawdekyne cloth of gold

Item an other herse cloth of blak saye

Item vj alter clothes wherof v of Diaper & one of playne clothe  
 Item v great bells of bell mettell suted hanging in the steple  
 there

Item j little bell called a Saynt bell hanging in the saide  
 Steple

Item iij diaper towells

Item iij albes more then was conteyned in the firste inventorye.

Mem. endorsed Estgrenewich xvi November vi Ed VI All  
 goods in the inventory of iii. Ed : vi. are in this & are now  
 delivered to the churchwardens "excepte ij chalices with  
 their patents of silver and one pix of silver presented to  
 be solde for reparacyon of the church and excepte one  
 deacon, viij vestments . . . iij curteyns, ij alter clothes,  
 ij towells, presented to be stollen and also excepte on  
 chalice with the patent one vestment with thapparell and  
 on little bell sold for repairing the houses of poor  
 people"

DOWNE—XXIII NOVEMBER VI. ED : VI.

Anthonye Crane, and Thomas Sipher, church-  
 wardens.

Firste ij chalics with theire patents of silver one of them  
 broken waying together xiiij ounces

Item iij bells of brass suted in the steple, & one saincts bell of  
 brasse, & ij hand bells for procession, & a sacryng bell of  
 bras

Item a brasse panne & treffete, a bason of latten & foure  
 candlesticks of latten for thalter

Item xv bolles of brasse wherin the tapers were wonte to be  
 putte or sett on

Item a vestmente of blewe satten of bridgs with flowers of  
 golde, one vestment of red saye with flowers

Item one other of red chamblet with flowers of the same  
 and one other of red silke all worne

Item iij albes, & iij amyss belongyng to the same iij vest-  
 ments

Item ij corporaxes with theire cases, & ij holy water stocks of  
 latten

Item ij Crosses of copper & gilte & a crosse cloth of old grene  
 silke

Item ij surpleses, & one rochet of lynnyn

Item iij alter clothes, one of diaper, iij shets of lynnyn to cover the fonte, iij long towells, & ij other shorte towells, one of diaper & thother of lynnyn cloth, ij clothes for the alter,  
 • thone red chamlet & thother of oringe coloure with flowers of gold uppon them

Item a blewe clothe of canvass died

Item a bible of the largiste volume & the paraphrasis of Erasmus

Item a table of alblaster for thighe alter there, on old chiste bounde aboute with iron, on sepulcre of wood, on pix of latten, and one censer of latten, iij cruetts of tynne

Item on crismatory of powder, on canapie clothe of lynnyn & painted, a valle clothe blewe and white

Item iiij banner clothes of lynnyn stayned, ij stremers of lynnyn clothe painted, on clothe for the roode somtyme painted.

Mem. endorsed Dertford xxij November vi Ed vi. All the goods without any exception delivered by the Comissioners to the Churchwardens

#### DYMCHURCHE—III DECEMBER VI. ED. VI.

John Philips, churchwarden ; John Palmer,  
 Smythe, parishioners.

First a sute for deacon & subdeacon of sylke with their albes

Item a crosse of coper with a crosse cloth of sylke

Item ij latten candylstykkys ffor the alter

Item iiij banner clothes of buckeram stayned

Item iiij aulter clothes good & bad

Item a holy water stoppe and a senser of latten

Item ij bells in the steple

Item a canaby cloth of whyte sattyn.

Mem. Sold one chalez weying vi unces at iiij<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> the unce sum, xxviij<sup>s</sup> and stolen ij old cops of blue velvet and ij vestments one of white silke and the other of russet silke

Item sold xvij bolls of latyn to putt tapers uppon for xij<sup>s</sup>

## ESTWELL—III DECEMBER VI Ed: VI.

Christopher Mataras, parson, Edward Gay, gent, &  
William Sharpe, churchwardens & Leonard Lambe  
and Godfrey Jairden late churchwardens

Fyrst iij chaleys of sylver parcell gylt waying in all twenty and  
eight ounz, Item iiij vestments wherof one redd with a  
blacke crosse another of grene and too of them old with  
all their apparell, Item ij copes, one of redd damaske and  
thother of dornex, Item a cloth to lay over the herse called  
a pall, Item a cloth of damaske and satten which did  
hange before the altare, Item ij corporassz and iij cases,  
Item a crysmatory, ij pixes, a senser, an holywater pott,  
a lampe, a bason and ewer, xvij bolls which stode before  
the Rode, and ij candelstycks all of lattyn, Item ij crosse  
clothes, and a banner of grene sarcenett, Item in the  
steeple iij bells and a lytle sanctus bell, Item iiij alter  
clothes, Item a crosse coper and gylt with a staffe broken  
Certayne gooddes mencyoned in the last Inventory wherof  
part is sold for reparacons of the churche & parte loste  
Item iiij ounz of broken sylver sold and bestowed upon the  
reparacons of the church  
Item the vale cloth sold to the said use  
Item ij coverletts wherof one sold to the said use and thother  
is nothing worth and therefore left out  
Item iij towels sold to the same use  
Item x bolls named candelsticks gon and lost out of the churche  
Item ij kerchars lost also

## EST WYKHAM—XVI NOVEMBER VI. Ed. VI.

Richard Gurnard and John Poole churchwardens

First one litle chalys with his patent of sylver parcell gilte  
weying x ounces di  
Item j alter cloth of diaper  
Item ij alter clothes of plaine clothe  
Item j canvass clothe painted with a frence of white & grene  
thred to hange before thalter  
Item j old herse cloth, & ij superaltaries

Item iij corprax cases one of them of blake velvett edged with golde, & on other of red tynsen satten of imagery work & thirde of red taffytaye & iij clothes of the same

Item ij olde copes of dornyx

Item j pax of copper

Item j pair of cruets of powder

Item j crismatory of powder

Item j latten bason

Item j canapie of latten

Item j canapie of taffa with a frence

Item ij small bells of brasse suted in the steeple

Item iij banner clothes, & j stremer of canvass painted red with staves to the same

Item j chiste with ij loks for the Register booke

Item j olde coffer for the Vestments.

Mem. endorsed at Estgrenewich same date. All goods in the inventory of iii. Ed. vi. are in this & are now delivered to the churchwardens "excepte ij latten candlestikks on crosse of latten on censer of latten one holy water stokke of latten on sacryng bell and one hand bell one old vestmente of and one vaile of lynnene cloth" presented to be sold for repair of the church

#### EBBONEY—II DECEMBER VI ED. VI.

Thomas Harynden churchwarden, & Peter Lawlan, inhabitant

First one chalice of silver wayeng fyve uncs, & another chalice of alkamyn

Item a crosse staff of copper and gilt

Item a pix of lattyn, & a crosse of copper

Item iij chests, & a laver of lattyn

Item iiij gret bells, and a saunce bell

Item ij small candelstiks of lattyn

Item one cope of blue velvett

Item another cope of sattyn a bredgs

Item a cope of lynnene cloth

Item a vestment of red velvet

Item ij vestments of sattyn a bredgs

Item a vestment of lynnene cloth

Item ij Crismatoryez, & a cruet of tynne

Item iij albes, & a crosse cloth of red sylke  
 Item a canapie of whit and red silke  
 Item a vayle of linnen cloth, & one altar cloth  
 Item iij towells, ij surples, & a rotchet  
 Item a corporas case of red velvett  
 Mem. Stolen out of the church a basyn of lattyn, a cruets of  
 tynne, a holy water stop of brasse, a handbell, an alter  
 cloth, & a corporas cloth

## EGERTON—XVI MARCH III ED. VI.

Thomas Bybill, curate ; John Elson & Richard  
 Arondell, churchwardens ; Richard Wodower  
 gent, Thomas Bachuler and Robert Newnton

Item a chalys of sylver & gylt in weyth xxiiij uncs  
 Item a chalys of sylver & gylt in weyth xxiiij uncs  
 Item a chesabyll with ij tunacles of whyt damaske with ij  
 albys  
 Item a chesabyll of crymsyn velvet with ij tunacles & a awbe  
 to yt  
 Item a chesabyll of crymsyn velvet with an awbe to yt  
 Item a chysabill of crymsyn damaske with an awbe to yt  
 Item a chesabell of worsted with an awbe  
 Item a chesabyll of whyt damaske with a awbe  
 Item ij copys of crymsyn velvett  
 Item a cope of black damaske  
 Item aulter clowth strakyd with velvet & satyn  
 Item a payer of cortens of sarsnet with lyons upon them  
 Item in the stepyll v bellys  
 Item a bell over the quier  
 hand bells

## ELHAM—V DECEMBER VI ED. VI.

John Lamberd, curate ; William Rygden & Thomas  
 Oldfeld, churchwardens ; John Marshe, Thomas  
 Tybold, parishioners

Fyrst ij chalyses of sylver, a pyx of sylver, and a crosse of  
 sylver



- Item a cope of blewe tyssew, a vestment, ij tyncles with one albe of the same  
 Item a cope of crymsen velvet, a vestment, one tynacle, and one albe of the same  
 Item a vestment of blak velvet with one albe, iiij old vestments  
 Item a canope of blew and yelow satyn of bridges frynged  
 Item one fronte for the aulter of whyt and grene satyn of brydgs  
 Item iiij old copes, a crosse of laten with the staffe, a senser of laten  
 Item v great belles, candlestyckes of latyn

ELMESTED—11<sup>d</sup> DECEMBER VI ED VI

Gilbert Heron, vicar, John Simkyn churchwarden  
 John Clok & Humfrey Page inhabitants

- First ij chalics with the patents of sylver wayeng xvij uncs  
 Item iiij bells in the steple & iiij small handbells  
 Item ij gret candilstiks & ij small candilstiks of lattyn  
 Item xxiiij bolls of lattyn  
 Item a cope of red velvett  
 Item a cope of white sattyn a bredgs  
 Item an old cope of grene damask  
 Item a vestment of red velvet with the albe & all other thyngs therto belongyng  
 Item a vestment of crymsen velvett  
 Item a vestment of red sattyn  
 Item a vestment of white sarcenett  
 Item a vestment of black damaske  
 Item ij crossez of copper & gilt  
 Item a crosse cloth of red silk  
 Item ij holy water stopez of lattyn  
 Item ij sensers & ij lampez of lattyn  
 Item a banner cloth of grene silk  
 Item ij corporacs clothez with their casez.  
 Mem: Sold the x<sup>th</sup> day of January anno regni regis Edwardi sexti quinto by the seid John Simkyn & Peter Inkpett decessed then church wardens these parcells hereafter folowyng by the consent of the parish  
 First a cope of grene velvet and a cope of grene damask

Item a vestment of grene damask

Item a vestment of black velvett

Item a vestment of grene velvett

Item a canapy cloth of Turkey velvett

All which pecys war sold for vij li which was bestowed & layd out about the reparacons of the seid church.

ELTHAM—XVI NOVEMBER VI ED: VI.

Robert Garbett, and George Stephenson church-wardens

First j chalcic with the patent of silver & gilt weying xvij ounces

Item j oyther chalice with a patent of silver & parcell gilt weying xij ounces

Item j oyther chalice with the patent of silver and parcell gilt being lent into the Kyng's place at Eltham weying xi ounces & iij qrt

Item j cope, & j vestment with ij tunecells all of red tynsyll imbrothred with blew velvett & imbrothred with thalf rose of the fawkyn<sup>1</sup> upon the border

Item j cope of russett satyn imbrothred with smale spankels of sylver havying a border of imags with silke & gold imbrothred upon it

Item j cope of blew damaske the border being tawney damaske with horse heeds of silke sette uppon it

Item j cope of blak sarcenett imbrothred with red satten of brids imbrothred with flowers of silke

Item j cope of blew silke imbrothred with red all woven with flowres & birds of gold

Item j vestment of blak velvett with a crosse of cremysen satten

Item j vestment of blak sarcenett with ij tunicells havying a redd crosse of satten of brids.

Item a vestment of whit damaske with a crosse of blak velvett

Item a vestment of whit chamlett with a crosse of yelow silke

Item a vestment of red chamlett with a crosse of yelow & red sylke

<sup>1</sup> The falcon and white rose of Edward IV.

- Item a vestment of red & grene silke with a crosse of blak & grene silke
- Item a vestment of whit damaske with a crosse of redd damaske
- Item ij laten crosses with a fote to one of them
- Item ij crosse clothes of silke
- Item v great candelstikks, & iij pair of litle candlestikks of latyn
- Item j frunt cloth for thighe alter of fustyan aps grene red and yelow
- Item j frunt cloth of fustyan apes red & blake
- Item j frountlett of dornyx
- Item iij old fruntletts of paynted clothes, & iij alter clothes of diaper
- Item iij great bells in the steple, & a saunts bell of brasse
- Item iiij olde vestments of cruell of no value, & vj banner clothes
- Item ij censers of latten, & a bason with thewer
- Item j litle paire of portatyves<sup>1</sup> & xvj books great and small
- Item j bible of the largest volume, & a paraphrasis of Erasmus with thomylies
- Item xxxj candlestikk bowles of latten, & a brance of latten
- Item ij lampes of latten, & ij holywater stokks of latten
- Item j sepulcre with paynted clothes to cover the same
- Item j vaile cloth of lynnen that was wonte to hange before thalter in Lent
- Item j olde paynted clothe that was wont to hang before the Roode in Lent
- Item iiij cruetts of lead, & j pax of latten
- Mem. end. Estgrenwich, same date. All goods in the inventory of iii. Ed : vi. are in this & are now delivered to the churchwardens, "excepte one chalice with the patente of silver parcell gilt weying xv ounces, a pix of silver parcell gilte waying x ounces, ij cruetts of silver waying vij ounces iij quarters, a cope of blewe silke, one old pide cope of silk with birds upon it, a vestment of blake camblett, a vestment of white and grene silke, a herse cloth of cremsen velvett, a covering of yelow sarchenett, one corprax case of velvet cremsen coloure, vi corprax cases of sylke, ij alter clothes of lynnen, iiij coffers and

<sup>1</sup> Hand candlesticks.

iiij surplusses, iiij towells of dyaper, one playne towell and  
 ij hand towells " presented to be stollen  
 And also excepte one chalice with the patente of silver parcell  
 gilte wayng xvi ounces presented by thoothes of the saide  
 parties to be sold with the consent of the parishioners

ERYTH—XVI NOVEMBRE VI ED VI

Michael Terre & Richard Meyer, churchwardens

- First ij chalices with theire patents of silver parcell gilt weying  
 xxviiij ounces  
 Item one cope of blewe velvett with flowres of golde  
 Item j cope of blewe satten a bridgs with flowres  
 Item one vestment of dunne tynsen velvett with a backe of  
 clothe of golde  
 Item one vestment of white damaske with deacon and sub-  
 deacon & all thapparell to the same  
 Item one red vestmente of damaske with deacon and subdeacon  
 and all the apparell to the same except the albes  
 Item vestment of blewe satten a bredgs with flowers  
 Item one vestment with white lyons and grene hornes of silke  
 Item one vestment of white with a crosse of red ffustian  
 Item one vestment of red silk with shippes of gold  
 Item one grene vestment of silke straked  
 Item one vestment of blewe silke with swannes  
 Item one blewe vestment with swannes and oystreich fethers  
 Item one care clothe of grene silke  
 Item on pix cloth for the sacrament edged with golde and  
 tassells of golde  
 Item on other pix cloth edged with yelowre silke & red, & iiij  
 casses  
 Item on other pix cloth with a frence of red & blewe silke  
 Item on carpett cloth to laye before thighe alter  
 Item ij clothes of lynnyn to hange before thighe alter in Lent  
 Item a vaile of lynnyn cloth for lente of white and blewe  
 Item vj corporax cases goode and badd, and thre clothes to  
 them  
 Item on herse cloth of black velvett with a whit crosse of  
 lynnyn cloth

Item on herse cloth of blak cloth with a white crosse of linnen cloth

Item on booke of the bible of the large volume

Item vj cuschings of silke for thighe alter

Item iiij staves with knoppes for the canopie gilded

Item on crosse of copper and one crosse saf of copper & gilte

Item on censer of copper

Item iij alter clothes of linnen good & bad to lye on thighe alter

Item iij towells of dyaper, and v of plaine cloth

Item ij alter clothes of white and grene satten a bridges

Item one alter clothe of blak & yelow chamlett

Item one canapie clothe of blacke velvett & yelow chamlett with ffalcons heades, & an old vestmente of silke

Item on cote of black velvett for our ladye

Item on cote of white braunched damaske for our Ladye

Item on cote of grene satten imbrothred with blacke velvett

Item on canapie to hange over the Sacrament thone parte velvet & thother parte of clothe of golde

Item on canapie to hange over the Sacrament of redde satten with hoopes of copper and gilte

Item one pair of organes in the quere the pips half stollen

Item iij bells suted of brasse in the steple, & one litle bell of brasse

Item ij candlestikks of latten, & one surples

[Mem. same date at Estgrenewich. All goods in the inventory of iii. Ed. vi. are in this & are now delivered to the churchwardens "excepte one cope of Red damaske one cope of white damaske one cope of Blew Satten abridges ij old copes on of silke thother of dornex on red vestement of . . . satten thapparell belongyng to a vestment of blewe satten of bridgs thapparell belongyng to a vestment of white thapparell belongyng to a vestment of red silke with shipps thapparell to a vestment of silke streaked thapparell to a vestment with iij cuschinges of carpett worke iij corporax cases on surplesse on pax of copper vj alter clothes iij albes & on funt cloth iij & one white cloth for the sacrament" "presented to be stollen"]

## [EYNSFORD] AYNYSFORD xxiii NOVEMBER. VI. ED. VI

John Gower and John Newington churchwardens.

First iij bells suted of bras in the steple

Item one chalice of silver and gilt with a patent to the same both waying xvij ounces

Item iij vestments wherof one is of red taffa with a grene crosse imbrothered, with albes ames & stole to the same, the second vestment is of white satten with a red crosse imbrothered, with albe ames & stole to the same, & the third vestment is of white damaske with a red crosse imbrothered, with albe ames & stole to the same

Item one cope of grene satten of bredgs embrothered with flowers

Item one old cope of dornyx taffa lyned with blewe bukram

Item on corprax case of clothe of gold on thone syde & thother side is of blewe velvett

Item on other corprax case of clothe of tyssue with a lynnyn cloth

Item on bible, & one paraphrasis

Item on crosse of silver & wood within all waying viij ounces the silver therof by estimacon ij ounces

Item on crosse of copper & gilt

Mem. endorsed Dertford xxij November vi Ed vi. All goods in the inventory of iii Ed vi are in this & are now delivered to the churchwardens excepte all the old servyce books delyvered to the Ordinarie by commandement

## FAYRFELD—III DECEMBER. VI. ED: VI

Henry Lane, curatt, Robert Buttune, churchwarden, Rychard Frende & Wylliam Curtesse parishioners

Fyrst one vestment of red velvett with the albe & apparell to ytt

Item one vestment of red & grene sattyn without any apparell or albe

Item one cope of grene sattyn, and one cope of blewe sylke

Item ij alter clothes & iij towells of lynnyn cloth

Item one chalys of sylver

Item one crosse of copper & gylt with a staff of copper to ytt  
 Item ij kansticks of latten, & one crismatorie  
 Item in the steple, iij small bells  
 One cope of redd satyn was stolen when the church was  
 brokyn there whyche was in the monthe of June in the  
 iiij<sup>th</sup> yere of the reigne of our soverayne Lord Kyng  
 Edward the syxt and then was stolen all the apparell be-  
 longyng to one vestment of red & grene satyn & the best  
 altar clothe of linnen  
 More stolen the ij towells  
 Item one vestment of blew damask with the apparell sold by  
 the concent of the holle parishe to repayre the church  
 Robert Butts then churchwarden  
 More sold then to the same yewse one old vestment of blew  
 sylk withoute apparell  
 More sold then one canabe clothe of fustyan braunchyd with  
 frengs of cruell  
 More sold one front clothe paynted & one paynted desk clothe  
 More sold one pyx clothe of red taffate with red sylk knops  
 More sold a paynted crosse clothe & one pyx & one senser &  
 one holy water pott of brasse  
 More sold one hand bell & a sacryng bell  
 Sum of all the goods that was sold ys xxiiij<sup>s</sup>

## FARNBOROWE—XIII NOVEMBER VI ED. VI.

John Lambe and John Marshall churchwardens

Ffyrst on cupp of silver for to receyve the Communion ex-  
 chaunged for the chalice waying by estimacon viij ounces  
 Item iij bells suted of brass in the steple  
 Item on crosse of latten gilted  
 Item ij copes one of dornyx & thother of blewe satten of  
 Bridgs, a bible of the largest volume, & a paraphrasis of  
 Erasmus  
 Item ij vestments braunched of stainen red & blew  
 Item a fronte of cremyson velvett upon thigh alter braunched  
 with flowers of gold  
 To be saffie kept & preserved by the saide Churchwardens and  
 the same and every parcell thereof to be forthcomyng at  
 all tymes hereafter when it shall be of them required In

witnes whereof as well the saide Comyssioners as the saide Churchwardens have subscribed their names on the day & yere above wrytten—

PERCYVALL HART. MARTYN BOWES.

THOMAS LOVELACE.

Apud Dertford xxiiij<sup>o</sup> die Novembris anno regni Regis Edwardi VI<sup>u</sup> VI<sup>o</sup> Mem. that all the parcells of goods plate juells bells and ornaments apperteyning to the parishe church within written, mencioned in the inventory made in the iiij<sup>de</sup> yere of the reigne of our said Sovereigne lord, ar conteyned within this presente inventory, & ben delyvered by the within named comyssioners to the within named churchwardens to aunswere the same, excepte one chalice which was exchaunged for a sylver cuppe to receive the communion, on of the lyke weight and value which lyke wyse were delyvered by the said comyssioners to the saide churchwardens to answeere the same

FARNYNGHAM—XXIII NOVEMBER VI. ED. VI.

Leonard Taylor, and John Everherst, churchwardens.

- First on chalice with a patent of silver & parcell gilt waying x ounces di., & on vestment of clothe of tyssue with thalbe
- Item iiij bells suted in the steple
- Item j old vestment with an albe, & one cope bothe of tawney velvett
- Item one cope of blewe cruell with birds & bests wroughte on it
- Item on vestment, and an albe of black chamblett, with a crosse of tawney satten
- Item on grene vestment of cruell, & an albe with flowers & the crosse of clothe of tisshewe, & iiij old alter clothes of diaper
- Item on towell of diaper
- Item on crosse clothe of grene sarcenett, and on other of died & stayned canvas & iiij banner clothes of canvas paynted
- Item a canapie clothe of cruell to bere over the sacrament
- Item on crosse of copper, & ij of latten



Item on pix of latten, & ij clothes for it

Item on vestment with an albe of whit fustyan aps

Item on bible

Item on paraphrasis of Erasmus, with other books of smale value

Mem: on vestment of clothe of gold of Bawdekyn with the stole and phanell to the same apperteynyng remaynyng in the possession of Richarde Goodhewe of Farnyngham afore-said yoman by the late delyverye of Elizabeth Olyver his sister wherof the said churchwardens been not yet possessed to thuse of the said church.

Mem. endorsed Dartford xxiii November vi Ed vi All goods in the inventory of iii Ed vi are in this & are now delivered to the churchwardens except lxx pounds of olde brasse presented to be sold for reparaceons of the church

FAWKHAM—xxiii NOVEMBER. VI. ED. VI.

William Ketyll and John Swanne, churchwardens.

First on chalice with a patent of silver & parcell gilte weying by estimacon xv ounces

Item iij corpraxes with theire cases of silk, & on pix of latten

Item iiij alter clothes wherof on of diaper & thother of lynnyn cloth

Item v towells ij of diaper & thother of plaine lynnyn cloth

Item on cope of grene satten imbrothered with red satten of bridgs sette out with iij ymags and spanged with yelow silke

Item on cope of blewe lynnyn clothe & wrought with silke of diverse coloures imbrothered with grene silke

Item ij surplesses of lynnyn cloth

Item iiij vestments, one of silke of diverse colors, and a crosse of the backe sett with the armes of hym that gave it, & thalbe to the same

Item the seconde of black sarcenett & thalbe accordyng to the same

Item the iiij<sup>de</sup> of greno silke & thalbe to the same

Item the iiij<sup>th</sup> of grene silke & gold wyer

Item ij bells of brasse suted in the Steple, on hand bell of brasse for the procession

- Item on bell called the sacryng bell of brasse
- Item on bible of the largest volume
- Item a paraphrasis of Erasmus
- Item ij candlestikks of latten & on crosse of copper & gylte more than was conteyned in the last Inventorye
- Mem. endorsed xxij November vi Ed vi. That one crosse of copper and gilt more than was conteyned in the Inventory of iii Ed vi is conteyned in the present inventory and delivered with the rest of the goods to the churchwardens.

### FOOTYSCRAY—XXIII NOVEMBER. VI. ED. VI.

John Yeredley, parson, Richard Santefere, churchwarden

- First on chalice with the patent parcell gilt weying viij ounces
- Item a crosse of copper with a foote of the same
- Item a crysmatorye of lead
- Item iij copes, one of red silke faced with grene silke, the second cope of satten abbridgs of sadd tawney coloure, & the iij<sup>d</sup> of red cruell braunched with yelow cruell
- Item ix vestments the beste of satten abbridgs of sadd tawney with a stole and a phannell the second of red silke braunched with whit silke
- Item the third of red silke braunched with venys gold & grene silke
- Item the iij<sup>th</sup> of grene & white silke
- Item the v<sup>th</sup> of white cruell braunched with red cruell
- Item iij other olde vestments
- Item ij albes of lynnen with thapparell and amyss
- Item v other old albes of lynnen with thapparell
- Item a canapie of tawney satten of brids
- Item a herse cloth of red satten a brids with a white crosse of the same
- Item on other old herse cloth of whit cruell braunched with tawney silke, and another old cloth hanging before thighe alter of whit cruell and grene flowers of silk
- Item v alter clothes of lynnen
- Item ij towells, on old shet, a fonte cloth, a keverchef of lynnen
- Item ij cruetts, and an old candlestick of powder

Item ij bells suted in the steple conteynng in compas eyther  
of them iij foote & a half of brasse

Item ij sacryng bells

Item ij old surplussess of lynnyn.

Mem. endorsed Dertford xxij<sup>rd</sup> December vi Ed vi. All  
goods in the inventory of iii. Ed: vi. are in this &  
are now delivered to the churchwardens excepte one  
vestment with v stoles & v phanells presented to be  
burnt; and excepte iij litle old pillowes, iij corpraxes &  
iij cases and on crosse of brasse presented to be stolen and  
also excepte on pix of latten a censer and a shippe of  
latten iij candlesticks and ij braunches of latten & x  
socketts of candlestikks of latten likewise presented to be  
solde for reparacyons of the churche

GODMERSHAM in the hundred of Fylborough—

XXVIII NOVEMBER. VI EDWARD VI.

Jamys Levenard, vycar, Thomas Chapman,  
Roberte Gylwyn, churchewardens.

Imprimis a blew vestmente braunched with a coope, a whyte  
vestemente with a cope of damaske brawnched, a sute of  
vestements with blacke crosses of sylke lackynge stoles  
and phanells, a cope of sylke, a clothe of red silke to  
beare over the Sacramente, a clothe of whyte fustyan  
braunched to hange before the awlter, sevn towells, two  
awlter clothes, fower surplussys, two corporas casys with  
the clothes, two chalessys parcell gylte, a latyn basyn,  
one shete, one coverlett, two quoosshens, two hande bells,  
four bellys in the steple, an olde kettyle of brasse, and  
one panne, and three crewetts.

Accompt of Mr. George Hyllys, warden v. Ed. vi.

For iij vestments & iij copys solde the sume of xl s.

Item payde to a paynter to peynt the roode lofte and the wall  
qwere the awter stode in the chapell of owre Lady of  
the Chantry xxvs.

Item hys bordyng, x s.

Item payde for a gogyn for the thyrd beell iiij s.

Item for washeyng of the churche geer per ann. ij s.

Item payde for makyng of the churche gaat x d.

Item payd for a bawdryke xij d.

Item for meet & drynke ij d.

Item payd for broods j d. . (Approved by Thomas Chapman the elder.)

GREATE CHARTE—xxviii NOVEMBER vi Ed: VI.

George Gwyllym curate, Edward Andro, &  
William Carpynter, churchwardens, and John  
Odyld.

First one chalys sylver & gylt waying xxj uncs and j quarter

Item another of sylver x uncs di & di quarter

Item iiij<sup>or</sup> corporacs with their coveryngs

Item a vestment, ij tunicles & a cope of red damask, the flower  
therof tynsyn gold also albis to the same

Item a vestment, ij tunicles, & a cope of done velvett also  
albis to the same

Item, a vestment, ij tunicles and a cope of red sylk, also albis  
to the same

Item an old vestment, & ij tunicles of black velvett also albis  
to the same

Item a vestment of blewe velvett with albis

Item an olde vestment, and ij copis of blewe sylk havynge as  
it were little roses tynsyn theron with one albe to the  
same

Item a canopie of the same sylk

Item ij copes of white fustian

Item one cope very old

Item iiij<sup>or</sup> quotidian vestments very old

Item iiij<sup>or</sup> fronts, and ij payre of corteynes

Item a cloth used to be hold upp at mariags

Item iiij<sup>or</sup> aulter clothes, and ix towells

Item iiij<sup>or</sup> greate bells, and a saunce bell

Item ij hand bells

Item an old coverlett for chylde wyves

Item ij small latyn candlestycks.

Mem. that one chalyce, a cope of crymsyn velvett, a cor-

porace, ij aultare clothes with surplices and other things, parcells of the first Inventory the vjth day of February last in the nyght tyme were stolen and taken away by suche persons as then brake upp one wyndow having barres of iron at the west-ende of the Churche.

Also to buyld houses for the Pore accordyng to the statute William Igulden and Thomas Assherst in the tyme of their churchwardenship sold for the sum of xxxij s. iiij d. one whole sute of old white damask, parcell also of the first Inventory, whereof bestowed upon John Welschewan's house xxxij s. vij d. Item upon Johanne Longhersts house ij s. v d. Item upon Margery Vynalls house v s. pore & impotent persons of the parish.

[GREENWICH] ESTEGRENEWYCH—xvi NOVEMBER VI. ED. VI.

Thomas Colman and Thomas Walker, churchwardens.

First iiij chalices of sylver parcell gilte wherof j waying xij ounces ij qrts with the patents, j other chalice waying xiiij ounces with the patent, j other chalice with the patent waying xij ounces, & one other chalice with the patent waying xiiij ounces

Item ij copes, iii vestments deacon & subdeacon of red gold bawdekyn with orpheras embrodred with Venys gold, iiij albs with ij stole & all thapparells to them belonging

Item iiij copes of blewe velvett with orpheras embrothred with venys gold with aungells & flowres of gold

Item iiij copes of olde redd velvett with orpheras & flowres of gold, j vestment with thalbe & with all thaparells of the same sute

Item j cope with one vestment deacon & subdeacon of white satten of bridges with orpheras of crymsen satten of brydges imbrothred with Luks<sup>1</sup> gold

Item iiij copes of old red bawdekyn with orpheras of blewe floured velvet with floures of venis gold

Item iiij cops of old red bawdekyn with orpheras of grene velvet with starrs & imagis of Venys gold

<sup>1</sup> Lucca.

- Item one old cope of red satten with one vestment deacon & subdeacon with orpheras of blew damaske with copper gold and albes with thapparells of the same
- Item j cop, j vestment, & j deacon, bare withoute enything of blak velvet or orpheras of yelow diaper
- Item vj cops for children of dornix, j old cope of discolored velvet with old orpheras of gold
- Item j herse cloth of gold with Sainct Georgs Crosses
- Item j old cope with j vestment & j albe of Luks bawdekyn
- Item j vestment with j deacon & subdeacon iij albs with thapparells of red gold bawdekyn with an orpheras of grene velvett withe starres of gold
- Item ij tynacles with albes of old luks bawdekyn
- Item j vestment of blak welvett with an orpheras of tawney velvet
- Item a vestment of purple velvett with an albe with thapparells with an orpheras of gold embrothered and flo de lucs of venys gold
- Item j vestment with armes of Venys gold
- Item j vestment & an albe of blewe satten of bridgs with a crosse of red with ye Five Woundes and an armes embrothered
- Item j vestment of purple silke with orpheras of yelow velvet with the Trinitie & flowers imbrothered
- Item one vestment of red bawdekyn and an albe with orpheras of grene satten of bridgs with blewe garthers embrothered
- Item vestment of russett damaske, an albe of cremysen saten of bridgs with castells of Luks gold
- Item one vestment of blewe satten with orpheras red saten & a scripture with an albe
- Item j vestment of white ffustian of geent with a red orpheras imbrothered with copper gold, & an albe
- Item one vestment of yelow chamlet with orpheras of chekked silke, & an albe
- Item j vestment of blewe worsted with orpheras of red chamlet, & an albe
- Item j old vestment of grene bawdkyn with orpheras blewe bawdekyn with birds & an albe
- Item j vestment of grene damaske with an orpheras bawdekyn lions with an albe

- Item iiij old vestments all worne & litle worth  
 Item ij corprax cases of clothe of gold & a small pillowe of cloth of gold  
 Item j corprax case of blak velvet imbrothered with sylver  
 Item j corprax case of cloth of gold canvase on thother syd  
 Item j corprax case of red velvett with a flower of blew  
 Item j other of tynsell of cloth  
 Item iiij corprax clothes  
 Item j canapie of blew velvett with esses of gold imbrothered, with a cristall stone & a crosse copper & gilte to hange over the sacrament  
 Item ij coveryngs of white satten for Images imbrothered with cloth of gold  
 Item ij other smale coverings, one of yelow another of clothe of gould  
 Item ij alter clothes of white damaske on with a flor. de luce with spangs of silver, and one flower de luc of venys gold  
 Item ij alter cloths of lynnen paynted with floure de luc  
 Item ij alter clothes of blake damaske embrothered with a crucifix & flouers of venis gold  
 Item ij alter clothes of redde sarcenett with a crucifix  
 Item ij deske clothes of yelow sarcenett fringed with white & grene silke and powdered with taci<sup>1</sup> of purple satten  
 Item a border of redd velvett with flowers of gold, an olde border of red silke with green flouers  
 Item ij old corprax cases, & vj stremers painted of lynnen clothes  
 Item j alter clothe paynted with a crucifix, j bible, j paraphrasis of Erasmus  
 Item j clothe to lye before the highe alter with birdes white & grene  
 Item j towell of diaper in bredth halfe an ell in length xxj<sup>u</sup> ells  
 Item j old towell with blacke cruell in length iiij ells di in bredthe j ell flemyshe  
 Item j diaper towell iiij ells long di ell brode, j oyther of diaper of that lengthe & bredthe  
 Item j hand towell of diaper in bredthe di yard in lengthe ij ells di

<sup>1</sup> "Taches," spots.

Item j other towell of diaper in bredthe di yard in lengthe ij ells

Item j alter clothe of diaper in lengthe v ells in breadthe j ell and more

Item j alter clothe of diaper in length ij ells di in bredthe j yard

Item j alter clothe of diaper in lengthe iij ells in bredthe j ell

Item iij diaper napkyns, and one coverpane wrought with red silke & gold

Item j alter cloth in lengthe ij ells di in bredthe j yarde & more

Item j other alter clothe in lengthe ij ells di in bredthe j yard

Item j other alter clothe in lengthe ij ells di in bredthe j ell

Item j alter cloth in length ij ells quarter in bredthe j yard

Item j other alter clothe in lengthe ij ells di in bredthe one ell

Item j alter clothe in lengthe iij ells & more in bredthe j yarde

Item j towell in lengthe iij ells in bredthe one yard

Item j other towell in lengthe iij ells in bredthe di yarde

Item j hande towell in lengthe ij ells di. in bredthe j quart.

Item j alter hand towell in lengthe ij ells in bredthe di yard

Item j surples gathered, v playne surpleses whereof one stollen

Item ij olde surplusses gathered, j playne towell in lengthe ij ells in bredthe di yarde

Item ij smale basens of powder, vj cruets of powder, j pix of latten

Item j crismatory, ij candlestikks of latten, & ij standers of latten y<sup>t</sup> stode in the Quere

Item j crosse staffe of copper & gilte, & ij crosses of copper & gilte with a fote & thother of laten & gilt

Item ij candlestikks that stode in the South Ile with a smale standerd of latten

Item vij smale candlestikks of latten, ij lamps, ij censers, & a ship of the same

Item ij holywater stopps of laten

Item j litle harnis<sup>1</sup> that was for thymage of St George, & a smale latten bell

Item iij bells the greatest measured frome brymme to brym iij fote vij inches di

Item the ij<sup>d</sup> ij foot ij inches, the iij<sup>d</sup> ij foote i inche, the iij<sup>th</sup> ij foot xj inches

<sup>1</sup> Suit of armour.



Item j saunts bell of brass, & j paire of organes, & ij hand bells of brasse

Item j vestment of whit damaske, j albe with an orpheras of cloth of gold

Item j olde herse clothe with armes imbrothered with Venys gold

Mem. endorsed Estgrenewich xvi November vi Ed vi. All goods in the inventory of iii. Ed. vi. are in this & are now delivered to the churchwardens excepte on albe of red satten one corprax cloth on pix of copper and gilte one smale thing of silver that stode in the brest of an Image of woode with a cristall stone, presented to be stollen and also excepte on surplesse declared to be broken.

[*To be continued.*]

## NOTES IN ILLUSTRATION OF THE RUNIC MONUMENTS OF KENT.

BY THE REV. DANIEL H. HAIGH.

The Runic monuments of Kent are few; but their inscriptions or legends, short as these are, are sufficient to show that they are the work of different, though kindred, tribes or races. I shall notice them in the following order:—

1. Two sceattas found in a grave at Sarre, and another at Birchington, the former in the possession of the Kent Archæological Society, the latter (once Mr. Rolfe's) in the Mayer Museum, Liverpool.

2. A gravestone in the Dover Museum.

3. A gold triens, in the British Museum.

4. Two monumental stones, in the Canterbury Museum.

5. A sword-hilt, from the cemetery at Gilton, now in the Mayer Museum.

6. A gold mancus, origin unknown, in the British Museum.

7. A sceatta found at Sibertswold, now in the possession of the Kent Archæological Society.

For the correct interpretation of their legends, a knowledge of the various systems of Runic writing, which have been handed down to us in MSS. ranging from the eighth to the twelfth centuries, is necessary; and to show the grounds of my own, I propose to lay before my readers a digest of the information we possess

|   | IV. |   |    |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    | V. |   |
|---|-----|---|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|---|
|   | 1   | 2 | 3  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 1  | 2  | 3 |
| a | Y   | A | IX | F | F | T | A |   |   |   |   |    |    |   |
| b | F   | D | IX | F | F | A | T | * |   |   |   |    |    |   |
| c | F   | D | IX | F | F | A | * | T | T | A | D | IX |    |   |
| d | F   | D | IX | F | F | A | T | * | T | A | D | IX | Y  |   |
| e | F   | D | IX | F | F | A | T | A | N | * | D | IX | Z  |   |
| f | F   | A | IX | F | F | A | T | X | N | D | A | IX | X  | D |
| g | F   | A | IX | F | F | A | T | A | N | D | A | IX |    |   |
| h | F   | D | IX | F | F | A | T | A | N | D | A | IX |    |   |

*i* **N B h Z X T F**

К В Б Н

2 KB P

*m* **K P Y**

2 АВГД

ABGQ

$\Delta$   $\psi$   $\gamma$   $\delta$   $\epsilon$   $\zeta$

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on this subject. In so doing, I shall retrace much of the ground I traversed in the second chapter of my 'Conquest of Britain,' a chapter which I wrote with the object of maintaining, not only that our Angle, Saxon, and Jute forefathers possessed the art of writing when they came to this island in A.D. 428, and so might well have records of their own; but also that every branch of the great Teutonic stock possessed it in common with them, and that their peculiar system was a tradition from a period of very remote antiquity. Since then, a magnificent work on Runic monuments has appeared, the fruit of the indomitable perseverance of my good friend, Professor Stephens,<sup>1</sup> a rich treasury of materials for the illustration of this subject, which, whilst they serve to correct some errors of detail into which I had fallen, (chiefly for lack of these very materials), abundantly confirm my views.

No one will now tell us that the conquerors of Britain were an unlettered race, nor that their runes were derived from Greek and Roman alphabets. We can trace their system of writing in full activity up to the fourth century of our era; and beyond that period how little do we know of the history of any Teutonic tribe! Yet, of that little, one indisputable fact is this, that they had letters three centuries earlier. I still hold firmly my opinion, that the art of writing, in that peculiar system which we call Runic, was a tradition, descending to historic times from that epoch of unknown antiquity, when Goths, Franks, Saxons, Angles, Jutes, and the rest, were one nation, tribe, or family; and that each of these scions of that ancient race possessed and practised it, until, under the influence of Christian missionaries, they adopted in its stead the alphabet of Greece, or the abecedarium of Rome. In this I am

<sup>1</sup> 'The Old Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England,' by George Stephens, F.S.A. London and Copenhagen, 1866-7.

sorry to say that I have not the advantage of my friend's support. He limits the use of runes to Scandinavia and England. Every rune-bearing relic, which the diggings of the last half-century in the cemeteries of France and Germany have revealed, is set down in his grand work as a "wanderer" from a Scandinavian home ; and for every MS. authority for the existence of runes in Germany an English origin is claimed. It is not my purpose to enter into controversy with him ; his "monumentum ære perennius" is before the world, and every one who feels an interest in the subject can read and judge for himself. In the interests of what I conceive to be the truth, I will endeavour in the following pages to set forth the grounds of my own conviction, that every Teutonic people had their own system of writing, which, on account of its peculiar order, we call the *Futhorc*;<sup>1</sup> that these futhorcs differed, (as did the dialects of the language they were employed to express), in the forms as well as the values of some of their runes, yet were so nearly alike as to indicate a common origin, however remote, just as the Æolo-Dorian, Corinthian, Argive, Athenian, Ionian, and Insular alphabets differ from, and resemble, one another ; that it is as incorrect to apply systematically the sounds of the runes of the English futhorc to the monuments of other kindred races, and as impossible to read the inscriptions on those monuments by the aid of the English futhorc alone, as it would be to apply the sounds of the Attic alphabet to an old Corinthian monument, or to read a Corinthian inscription with no alphabet but the Attic for a key. I commence, as in my former essay, with that futhorc which is best known, and of which the monuments are of the greatest importance, and most certain interpretation ; and so proceed to those which

<sup>1</sup> Its first characters being F, U, TH, O, R, C.

are least known, and of which we have the fewest monuments.

In the accompanying table (Pl. 1) I give the old English futhorc from the following MSS.:—

a. MS. at Vienna, Salisb. 140. From the orthography of the names of the runes I have inferred in my essay that this MS. is of Northumbrian origin and of the eighth century. I have since learned that W. Grimm regarded it as a transcript from one brought to Germany, in the latter part of that century, by the Northumbrian Arno, (brother of Alcwine), Bishop of Salzburg. This MS. gives twenty-eight characters, but differs from every other authority in the relative position of *yr* and *ear*.

|        |      |       |     |      |       |       |       |
|--------|------|-------|-----|------|-------|-------|-------|
| Fech   | Ur   | Thorn | Os  | Ræda | Cen   | Geofu | Uyn   |
| Haegil | Næd  | Is    | Gær | Ih   | Peord | Ilcs  | Sigil |
| Ti     | Berc | Eh    | Mon | Lagu | Ing   | Daeg  | Oedil |
| Ac     | Aes  | Eor   | Yr  |      |       |       |       |

b. MS. at St. Gallen, No. 878, of the ninth century. It is called "Anguliscum," to distinguish it from an alphabet which precedes it, (and which I shall notice in the sequel), and from the Scandinavian futhorc, which is there called "Abecedarium Nord." It gives twenty-nine characters, in what I regard as the correct order; but the 15th, as here represented, is indistinguishable from the 29th. Neither the names nor the powers of the runes are given.

c. MS. Cotton., Otho B. 10. In this the names and powers of the runes are supplied, but a later hand has inserted corrections, and those incorrectly. Thus, the 20th is *man*, and every authority (except the following) places *man* here; the corrector has written *deg*, and *d* over the true value, *m*. The 24th, (in every other the 23rd), is *dæg*, as it should be; the corrector has written *mann*, and *m* over *d*. The scribe has given to *ior* the 28th place instead of the 29th, and to *ear* the 29th instead of the 28th; and the corrector has inserted *tir* as the name of the latter. Important variants of the 9th and 13th runes are added, derived from other futhorcs.

|      |       |       |     |      |         |       |       |
|------|-------|-------|-----|------|---------|-------|-------|
| Feoh | Ur    | Thorn | Os  | Rad  | Cen     | Gyfu  | Wen   |
| Hægl | Nyd   | Is    | Ger | Eoh  | Peorth  | Eolhx | Sigel |
| Tir  | Beorc | Eh    | Man | Lagu | Ing     | Ethel | Dæg   |
| Ac   | Æsc   | Yr    | Iar | Ear  | Cweorth |       | Stan  |
| Gar  |       |       |     |      |         |       |       |

d. MS. Cotton., Domitian A. 9. In this futhorc there are several errors, imputable to the writer of the names of the runes. The 11th is *iac* instead of *is*; the 13th *sigel* instead of *eoh*; neither 15th nor 16th named; the 19th is *ethel* instead of *eh*; the 20th *deg* instead of *man*; the 23rd *manis* instead of *deg*; and the 28th *tir* as well as *ear*; as if the scribe of this manuscript were the corrector of the last. *Iolx*, the name which is omitted over the 15th, is inserted over the 31st, which is really *calc*; and a rune resembling *iolx*, but with *calc* written over it, follows *gar*, and a variant of the 24th is added above the line. These are borrowed from another futhorc, to be noticed in the sequel. Over *ior* is written *orent*, and over *queorth*, *cur*.

|       |      |       |      |       |         |       |      |
|-------|------|-------|------|-------|---------|-------|------|
| Feoh  | Ur   | Thorn | Os   | Rad   | Cen     | Gifu  | Wen  |
| Hegel | Nead | Iac   | Geor | Sigel | Peord   |       |      |
| Tir   | Berc | Ethel | Deg  | Lagir | Ing     | Manis |      |
| Ac    | Æsc  | Yr    | Ear  | Ior   | Cwæorth | Iolx  | Stan |
| Gar   | Calc |       |      |       |         |       |      |

e. MS. Cotton., Galba A. 2. This seems to be a very correct copy, giving the names only of the runes. Some of the forms differ from the foregoing. The 14th is imperfect; the 20th occurs in inscriptions only as a form of the 23rd; the second form of the 24th is supported by the last cited MS. and the futhorc alluded to above; the 29th and 31st are made to change places; the 30th, hardly distinguishable from the 28th in the foregoing, has here a distinct form.

|       |       |       |     |      |        |       |       |
|-------|-------|-------|-----|------|--------|-------|-------|
| Feoh  | Ur    | Thorn | Os  | Rad  | Cen    | Gyfu  | Wyn   |
| Hegil | Ned   | Is    | Gyr | Eth  | Peoih  | Eolhx | Sigel |
| Tir   | Beorc | Eoh   | Man | Lagu | Ing    | Dæg   | Ethel |
| Ac    | Æsc   | Yr    | Ear | Calc | Querth | Ior   | Stan  |
| Gar   |       |       |     |      |        |       |       |

f. MS., S. John's, Oxford, 27. Here the names are not given. The order is correct as far as the 23rd rune; then *ior* is in-



serted before one which resembles *æthel*, and the value *æ* assigned to it. The next four are in the usual sequence; then two resembling *gifu*, each with the value *g*, in place of *ior*; then *querth*, *stan*, *calc*, *æthel* (of the usual form); then the rune which stands for *peorth* in the last cited futhorc, and four others.

These are undoubtedly English. I take the following along with them, on account of its close correspondence with them.

*g*. MS., Brussels, 155. This much resembles *a*, but the characters which represent *ing* and *ædil* are interchanged. The names of the runes seem to belong to a Continental dialect.

|       |      |       |     |     |      |      |       |
|-------|------|-------|-----|-----|------|------|-------|
| Fech  | Ur   | Thorn | Os  | Rad | Ken  | Geno | Uung  |
| Hagal | Not  | Is    | Ger | Ih  | Pert | Ilix | Sigil |
| Ti    | Berc | Hæc   | Man | Lag | Hinc | Dag  | Othl  |
| As    | E—   | —     | —   | —   | G—   |      |       |

It will be observed that all these copies of the futhorc agree in the sequence of most of the characters. As far as the 29th there can be little doubt but that it was as in *b*. Several authorities extend the system to thirty-three, and one to forty, distinct characters; and it is probable that this last was the original number, for we have evidence that it was divided into classes, each of eight characters, and as these were regulated by the sacred number *eight*, we may well believe that another sacred number, *forty*, determined the extent of the futhorc, and completed the 5th class. I shall henceforth, for convenience, speak of each rune by the number of its class and its position therein.

The names of the runes themselves, their occurrence in ancient inscriptions, and a comparison of the words in which they occur with the same words in their modern form, are, of course, our only criteria as to their value; and these are not always certain, since words might be differently pronounced, as the runes would

have different powers, amongst different tribes. The Northumbrian inscriptions have supplied twenty-six runes, amongst which are nearly all the vowels; these, with the rest, I arrange as follows, (leaving out of the question the 5th class, the characters comprising which are almost unknown):—

|                              |                     |                   |                      |
|------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| I. 1. Feh.                   | F                   | III. 1. Tir.      | T                    |
| 2. Ur.                       | U (u').             | 2. Berc.          | B                    |
| 3. Thorn.                    | TH                  | 3. Eh.            | E                    |
| 4. Os.                       | O (o').             | 4. Mon.           | M                    |
| 5. Ræd.                      | R                   | 5. Lagu.          | L                    |
| 6. Cen.                      | C                   | 6. Ing.           | NG                   |
| 7. Geofu.                    | G                   | 7. Dæg.           | D                    |
| 8. Wyn.                      | W.                  | 8. Oethil.        | OE'                  |
| II. 1. Hægil.                | H                   | IV. 1. A'c "oak". | A (a').              |
| 2. Næd.                      | N                   | 2. Æsc. "ash".    | Æ (a').              |
| 3. Is.                       | I (i') <sup>1</sup> | 3. Yr             | Y (vow.).            |
| 4. Gær. 'year.' G (y cons.). |                     | 4. Ear.           | EA (a') <sup>2</sup> |
| 5. Ih.                       | I (i') <sup>3</sup> | 5. Ior.           | IO <sup>4</sup>      |
| 6. Peorth.                   | P                   | 6. Queorth.       | Q                    |
| 7. Ilcs.                     | '                   | 7. Calc.          | K                    |
| 8. Sigil.                    | S                   | 8. Stan.          | ST                   |

This is the old futhorc of the Angles, the futhorc in which nearly every inscription hitherto found in the Angle kingdom of Northumbria, and two in the Angle kingdom of Mercia, are written. Besides these, there are a few coins, with Runic legends, belonging to each of the three Angle kingdoms.

<sup>1</sup> The long i<sup>2</sup> is expressed at Ruthwell by I I.

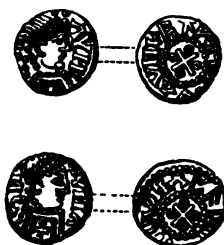
<sup>2</sup> That this was sometimes long i<sup>2</sup> is proved by its occurrence in the name *Gulheard*, on the Dover tombstone. At Ruthwell it makes a diphthong with III. 3, in *almeittig*. In the word *drigith*, on Mr. Franks' casket, it cannot be long. It has not yet been found on any monument to justify the value *eo*, derived from *eoh*.

<sup>3</sup> This was a vowel, but it has not yet appeared in any inscription, and only twice on coins, one found in Gloucestershire, the other in Kent. Notwithstanding the name *eolhx*, I think it must have had an *a* sound in the southern kingdoms, as it certainly had in Scandinavia.

<sup>4</sup> This occurs in the word *gidréfid* at Ruthwell; but at Faldstone it is transliterated by *e*, and seems scarcely to differ in sound from III. 3.

<sup>5</sup> This occurs in the words *feárran* and *heáfunas* at Ruthwell.

<sup>6</sup> This has not yet appeared as a vowel.



Of these, two were found in the grave CCXXVI. at Sarre. They are of the same type, though not from the same die. Compared with another specimen in the British Museum, they may be thus described:—

*Obv.* Bust in profile to the right, before it the letters AVNC, and behind, remains of what seem to be the same.

*Rev.* A beaded circle, containing a cross, with a ray from the centre terminating in a pellet in each quarter; around it in runes, PADA, and a meaningless legend in Roman letters, AVIIIOCA.

Three other types are known on which the same runes occur.<sup>1</sup> On all the legend is clearly *Páddá*. If it be, as is most probable, the name of a king, there is but one in our history who can claim them,—the eldest son of Penda, King of Mercia. He was made King of the Middle Angles, (between the Trent and the Humber), by his father, some time before A.D. 653, and of the South

<sup>1</sup> 1. *Obv.* Helmeted bust to the right; before it the letters CNZIO, others behind.

*Rev.* A square compartment, beaded, containing the letters  $\begin{smallmatrix} T & O & T \\ X & & X \end{smallmatrix}$  on one side the legend, in runes, PADA; on the others Roman letters. (Fougères et Combrouse, 'Monnaies de France,' vol. iii. pl. xxviii. 1. A poor specimen in the British Museum.)

2. *Obv.* Similar bust and legend.

*Rev.* An oblong beaded compartment, containing the runes PADA, very neatly formed, on one side the letters AST, and traces of the same on the other. (Probably unique, in the British Museum.)

3. *Obv.* Bust different from all the above; traces of the same letters as on the Sarre specimens.

*Rev.* The runes, PADA, between two beaded lines, enclosed in a beaded circle, around which are traces of the same letters as on the last. ('Monnaies de France,' vol. iv. pl. cliv. 4.)

Angles, (south of the Trent), on the death of his father, A.D. 655, by Oswiu, King of Northumbria, and foully betrayed to death by his wife Alhflæd, Oswiu's daughter, on Easterday, A.D. 656. By Venerable Bæda and his followers he is called *Peada*, so that we should expect the first vowel in his name to be *ear* rather than *ác*; but the sounds of these runes were very nearly the same. The *á* in *ác* is represented in our language by *o*<sup>2</sup>, as in *ác* "oak," *bán* "bone," *dá* "doe;" and the *ea* in *ear* has the same sound in such words as *eald* "old," *ceald* "cold," and nearly the same in *eal* "all," *feallan* "to fall." *Pádá*, therefore, may well represent *Peada*.

In the 'Collectanea Antiqua' (vol. i. pl. xxiii. fig. 3), a sceatta is figured, found at Birchington.

*Obv.* Bust to the right; before it, *ÆPA* in runes; behind it, *A*.

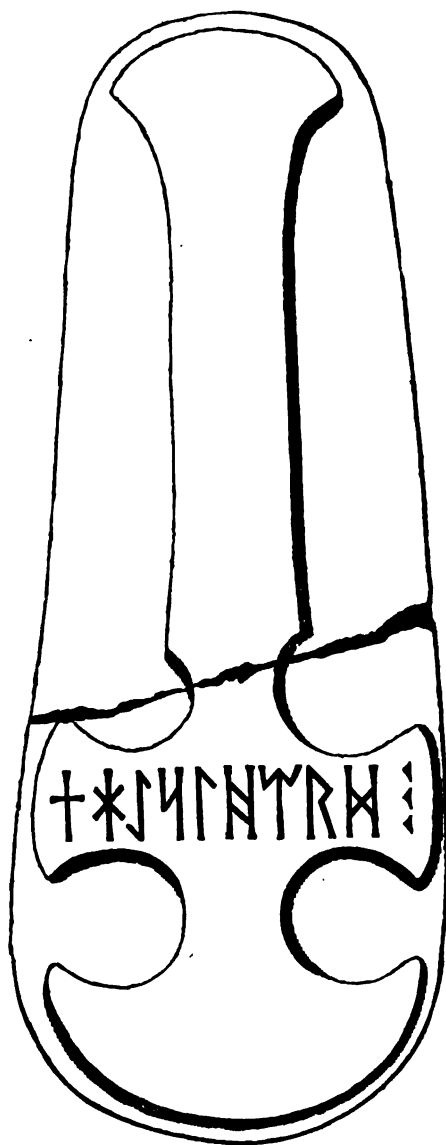
*Rev.* A beaded square, containing the letters  $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{TT} \\ \text{O} \end{smallmatrix}$ .

Several coins of this type have been found elsewhere, on some of which the name is written with *Æ* (III. 3), *ÆPA*. I regard them as belonging to the uncle of *Peada*, who fell in battle, A.D. 642. The marriages of *Peada*'s brothers—Wulfhere to Earconberht's daughter Eormenhild, and Merewald to her cousin, Eormenræd's daughter, Eormenbeorh—are indications of intimate relations between the royal families of Mercia and Kent, which at once account for the appearance of Mercian coins in Kentish graves. Blundered imitations of coins-current in France in the first half of the seventh century, solidi of Mauricius, of the mints of Arles and Marseilles, of Heraclius, and of Chlothari II. (of which the first could not have been minted later than A.D. 602, the last not earlier than A.D. 613), found in a grave, near the wind-mill, in 1860, (Arch. Cant. Vol. III. p. 45), had already proved that the cemetery at Sarre was in use during the pagan reign of Eadbald. This discovery of the coins of

Peada, which must have been quite fresh at the time of the burial of their owner, proves that it was still resorted to for some years after the restoration of Christianity by Earconberht.

A MS. in the British Museum, Vitellius A. 12, one in the Chapter Library at Exeter, both of the eleventh century, and one in the library of Sir Thomas Phillips, give an alphabet of runes derived from some futhorc which is now lost, (Pl. 1, *i.*). In the two first of these the *f* (I. 1) has a single branch; in all the *g* (I. 7) has the form of *ior* (IV. 5), and the *q* (IV. 6) has that of *æthel* (III. 1). The values *x*, *y*, *z*, are written in mistake over the runes corresponding to *u*, *x*, *y*; *z* follows without value, and then the runes *ing*, *thorn*, and *æsc*. Now this alphabet is very precious; it is the only MS. authority in England for this form of *g*, (the only other is in the Weissenbrun hymn, which I shall notice in the sequel), and, with this and its equally peculiar *f*, it enables us to read with confidence the legends of two monuments, both Kentish.

The first is the tombstone found, many years ago, under the foundations of St. Peter's Church at Dover, and now in the Museum there. A drawing of it was communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by Lady Mantell in 1832, and published in the 'Archæologia,' vol. xxv. From this Mr. Kemble read the name upon it, + GISLHEARD. Mr. Gordon, now our representative at Stuttgart, made a drawing from the stone in 1851, containing an important correction of the second rune, which he observed was II. 5, not II. 3, as it appeared in Lady Mantell's sketch. This correction he communicated to Professor Stephens, with a rubbing of the inscription, made for him by the Rev. J. Puckle, Vicar of Dover, completely establishing its accuracy. There can be no doubt as to the name intended,



+GISILHEARD,

where we must assume for the second rune the value which its Northumbrian name, *ih*, gives. The third is

a monogram of *sl*. The sixth I read, as usual, *ea*, (not quite sure whether it might not be simply *a*, in the futhorc to which these runes belong).

The other is a gold triens, or third of a mancus, in the British Museum, (place where found unknown).



*Obv.* Bust to the right; legend in runes, (from right to left), ANIWULUFU, and in Roman letters, + CLIO.

*Rev.* Two figures holding a ring between them, their disengaged hands uplifted, and their faces turned upward; legend, + DENÆISI.

There can be no doubt as to the reading *Aniwulufu*, (an early form of the well-known *Eanwulf*); yet here, as in the last, we see how impossible it would be to read these legends by the aid of the futhorc of the Angles alone.

I think that the Runic legend was engraved first upon the die, and that, by a change of intention, the Roman letters were added. I therefore read CLIO continuously, and regard it as an epithet, (*hléo* = "protector"), "*Aniwulufu* protector." I have no doubt that the name on the reverse is intended for HENALISI, (E for L, as in many other instances; the workman, perhaps, being not well acquainted with the Roman alphabet). And here I would remark that the geographer of Ravenna (Venantius Fortunatus), in the seventh century, calls the conqueror of Britain *Anschi*; *Layamon*, (in the earlier version), *Hænges* and *Henges*, as well as *Hængest*; and Gaimar uniformly *Henges* and *Hengis*; whilst the Latin chroniclers invariably add a final *t*. The termination in a vowel, of words which in later times would end in a consonant, and the fulness of vowels which these names present, are equally characteristic of early antiquity.

The type of this coin is not an imitation of a Roman design, but purely Barbaric. The reader cannot fail to be struck by the resemblance between the figures on the reverse and those on some northern bracteates (see Pl. 8); nor can there be a doubt as to the intention,—it is a representation of two chieftains swearing an oath on the “holy ring.”

The chieftains whose alliance this little piece was intended to commemorate would seem to have been Aniwuluf and Henagis; and when we call to mind the facts of the history of Hengest,—how, from A.D. 429 to 435, he was continually receiving reinforcements from the Continent, to assist him in his struggles with Ambrosius and Vortimer; how, after his expulsion from Britain, and his year of exile, (which the name of Haengest, near the coast of Normandy, suggests may have been partly spent in that district), he returned with a fresh force of auxiliaries,—and the fact that Goths were associated with Jutes in the conquest of Britain,<sup>1</sup> it is interesting to learn from Idatius, that one of the chieftains who led the Teutonic tribes in their persevering invasions of the Roman provinces at this period, was a Goth, named Anaolf, and to find, in immediate context with the notice of his defeat, a notice of the defeat of Juthungs (or Jutes)<sup>2</sup> also, A.D. 430 :—

<sup>1</sup> “Oslac Gothus erat natione, ortus enim erat de Gothis et Jutis, de semine scilicet Stuf et Wihtzur.”—*Asser. de Gestis Alfredi*.

Stuf and Wihtgar, nephews of Cerdic, colonized Wiht; and the last thirty years' researches have clearly established the fact, that the early Teutonic colonists, or conquerors, of Wiht and Kent, were of one race.

<sup>2</sup> As the *Annals* are *Amalungs*, *Denas Denings*, so are the *Juthungi*, or *Jotungi*, of the geographers and historians of the later empire, the *Jutæ* of Venerable Bæda and other annalists, the *Jotas*, *Jutas*, or *Jutna-cynn* of our Old English Chronicle. The passage in which this Chronicle speaks of them is worth quoting; it is the English version of Venerable Bæda's story.

“There came there men from three tribes of Germanie, from the Ald-Senxas, from the Anglas, from the Jotas. From the Jotas came Cantwara



“Per Ætium comitem, haud procul de Arelate, quædam Gothorum manus exstinguifur, Anaolfo optimate eorum capto. Juthungi per eum similiter debellantur et Nori.”—*Idatii Chronicon*, s. a. 430.

There is one other inscription, in which this peculiar form of g occurs. It is given on the bronze fittings of the bottom of a casket of walrus ivory belonging to the ducal family of Brunswick, and now preserved in their Museum. How it came into their possession is not recorded.

The front of this casket exhibits twelve panels, each containing a biped monster, man-, beast-, or bird-headed, with a tail enormously prolonged and disposed in an elaborate knot. On the back are six panels; five containing each a pair of these monsters, affronted or ad-dossed; and the sixth a design of that singular wavy or trumpet pattern, which in its simpler forms is found on weapons and ornaments of Celtic origin in England, Ireland, France, and Germany, and in its more elaborate forms in illuminated MSS., such as the Book of Kells in Ireland, and the Gospels of S. Cuthbert and S. Chad in England, but only in the earliest of the particular school to which these belong. Thus, then, this casket may safely be pronounced a work of the seventh century. Each end presents two pairs more of these monsters; and on the sides and ends of the cover, (which is like a house-roof sloped on all sides), are others, and two smaller quadrupeds.

Now, although this casket has a character of its own, (I know of nothing else which can be said to be exactly

and Wihtwara, (that is the tribe that now dwelleth in Wiht), and that kin in West-Sex that man now yet calls Jutna-cynn. From the Eald-Seaxas came East-Seaxa and Suth-Sexa and West-Sexa. From Angle came, (it ever since stood wasty betwixt Jutas and Seaxas), East-Engla, Middel-Engla, Meorca, and all Northhymbra.”—*English Chronicle*, s. a. 449.

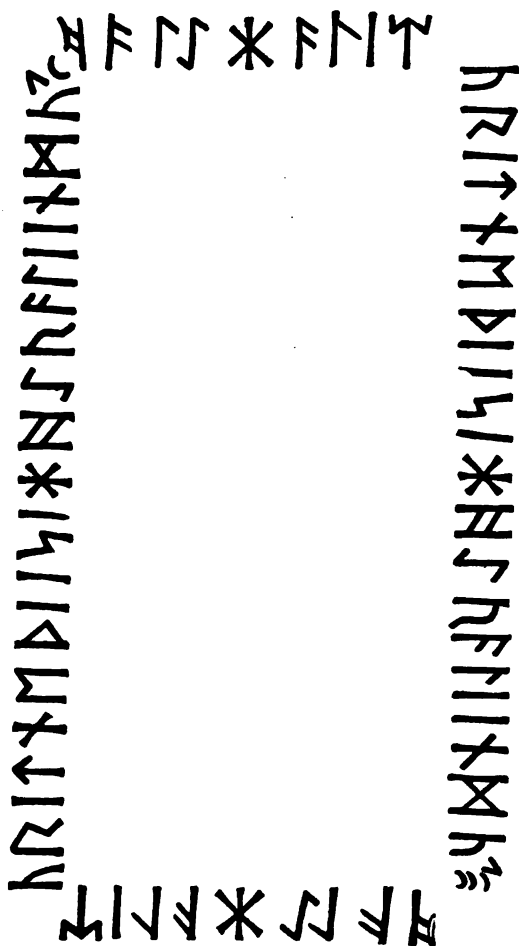
In Beowulf they are called Eotena-cynn. Their Norse name is Jotar.

like it), I cannot hesitate in recognizing in its ornamentation the influence of Irish art, introduced by the missionaries of Iona. That influence in Northumbria dates from A.D. 634, (the accession of S. Oswald), until nearly the close of the century; in East Anglia it would be felt, in some degree, after the foundation of S. Furseus' monastery, at Cnobheresburg, A.D. 636; in A.D. 653 it was extended to the kingdoms of the Mercians and East Saxons by the apostleship of S. Cedd. These considerations must be taken into account in our speculations as to the date of this relic; if it be of Continental origin, it may be many years more ancient, for S. Gall and S. Columban began their apostolic labours in France A.D. 585.

The inscription is certainly not in the Northumbrian English dialect. Had it been, the late Mr. Kemble, who first interpreted the inscriptions at Ruthwell, with such brilliant success, would have had no difficulty in reading it. Yet he sent it to me, with a conjecture that it might be in the Irish language. I recognized in it clearly a Teutonic name, *Sighere*, but in the oblique case, and I proposed an interpretation of the whole, with great diffidence, owing to the uncertain value of the first character and the unusual form of the words.

The inscription is duplicate. It ends at the right-hand of each longer side, where there are marks which I cannot regard as runes,—two in one case, four in the other. These I take to be marks of abbreviation and stops. The first character, as it stands, occurs in no other Runic inscription. In Mr. Kemble's copy it was an *f* inverted. I thought it might be *f* or *w*, and chose the latter. I had not then observed that some of the *wens* in the Lay of Hildebrand, (see Pl. 1. *p*), have exactly this form, though not in this direction, and I now feel more inclined than then to regard it as a variant of this rune. The next character would be IV. 2,

*i. e.* Æ or  $a^1$  in the English futhorc, but I. 4, *i. e.* A, or  $a^3$  or  $a^4$ , in the futhorc which will next come under consideration. The fourth is II. 5. The ninth is IV. 4, EA, of which, as I have shown above, the sound must



have been nearly the same as IV. 1. The last but one seems to be M on one side, D on the other. In Mr. Kemble's copy I read it D, and indeed its position obliges me to take this value.

I therefore read it—

## WÆLI GÆLIA CRITNETHII SIGHIRÆ LIINDC'.

Of these words, SIGHIRÆ seems to me certain. It is the dative case of the personal name, which, in Northumbrian English, would be *Sigheri*, spelt with III. 3, instead of II. 5; but it is remarkable that the name *eo*h is given to both runes in MSS. of South English origin, as if they had nearly the same value. This is followed by LIINDC', which I extended *liind-cempæ*, "shield-warrior," a compound similar to *liind-wiga*, (which has the same sense), and *liind-gestealla*, "shield-companion." I now think it may be *liind cyningæ*, "shield-king." Either would apply as an epithet to the person to whom I believe the casket belonged,—Sighere, King of the East Saxons, who was living A.D. 664, (in which year he attested the foundation-charter of Peterborough), and 665; how much longer we know not. He embraced Christianity, relapsed into paganism, but returned. The remainder of the inscription I have interpreted as an expression of good wishes for his prosperity, and, after much consideration, I can think of nothing more probable.

*Wæli* I connect with *wala*, *wela*, "weal," "wealth;" *gælia* with *gāl*, merry; *critnethii* with *grithneat*, "sharer of peace," or "protection,"—one of the titles of the king's household band; and I translate,—

"Weal! joy! a retinue! to Sighere, the shield-warrior," or "shield-king."

It is possible that the *ii* may have a value here different from that which they have in the Ruthwell inscription; that in fact they may stand for *u*. If this could be established by the discovery of similar inscriptions it would be very important, for not only would it give us a plural form, *critnethu*, of which we have many examples, but we should have also *Lund-cyning*, or "king of London," the East Saxon metropolis.

The three MSS. which contain the Runic alphabet that has enabled us to read these legends contain also

another, (Pl. 1, *k*), of which the chief characteristics are these: *thorn* (I. 3) stands for *D*; *gifu* (I. 7) has a peculiar form nearly the same as in the futhorc, which is not "*Anguliscum*," in the MS. at St. Gallen; *hægil* (II. 1) is the same as the second form in the MSS. Otho B. 10 and Domitian A. 9; *κ*, *q*, *x*, and *γ* are also remarkable. I know, as yet, of no inscriptions with these peculiar runes.

The destruction of our old Runic monuments, as savouring of paganism, must have been very complete throughout the island, in the first years of its conversion to Christianity. In Northumbria alone, after its second conversion by the Scottish missionaries from Iona, Runic writing revived and flourished. In the earliest MS. monuments of our language Latin letters alone appear. Yet it was not long before the inadequacy of the letters *u* and *d* to express the runes *wen* and *thorn* imperatively demanded their restoration; and although the inconvenience of double letters, (*ng*, *st*, *ae*, *ea*, *eo*, *oe*), for sounds which the older system would have expressed by single ones, was tolerated, these two maintained their ground until long after the Norman conquest.

This phenomenon is now recognized as a proof, that the system to which they belong was one which our fathers possessed, before they became acquainted with the Latin writing and learning; and others, of exactly the same kind, indicate the existence of futhorcs amongst the other Teutonic nations of continental Europe.

Born A.D. 318, in the land of the Goths (trans Danubium), of Cappadocian parents carried captive thither, sent on an embassy to Constantinople, and consecrated bishop, A.D. 348, Wulfila devoted himself to the conversion of that people, and, as a means thereto, translated the Sacred Scriptures into their language. There does not seem to be a reasonable doubt, but that his version is preserved to us, in part at least, in the Codex Argen-

teus at Upsala, and the Wolfenbüttel and Milan palimpsests, although these are supposed to have been written at least a century later than his death, and in Italy. However this may be, it is certain that the writing of the Codex Argenteus was formed upon a Greek model; and the alphabet is proved, by the numerical values of the characters, to have followed the order of the Greek rather than that of the Latin. I give for comparison (Pl. 1, *n* and *o*) a Greek alphabet taken from a MS. of the fifth century, and the Gothic alphabet from the Codex Argenteus. The characters for 90 and 900, as in Greek, are used only as numerals, so that the alphabet really consists of twenty-five characters. Of these,—

B, G, E, Z, I, K, L, M, N, P, T, CH, have forms similar to the Greek and the same values;

A, D, TH, R, S, F, O, have the same values as the Greek, but different forms;

W has the same form nearly as its Greek correspondent, but a different value;

Q, H, J (Y), U, HW, have different forms and values.

W corresponds to the Teutonic *wen*, a sound which the Greek alphabet had not;

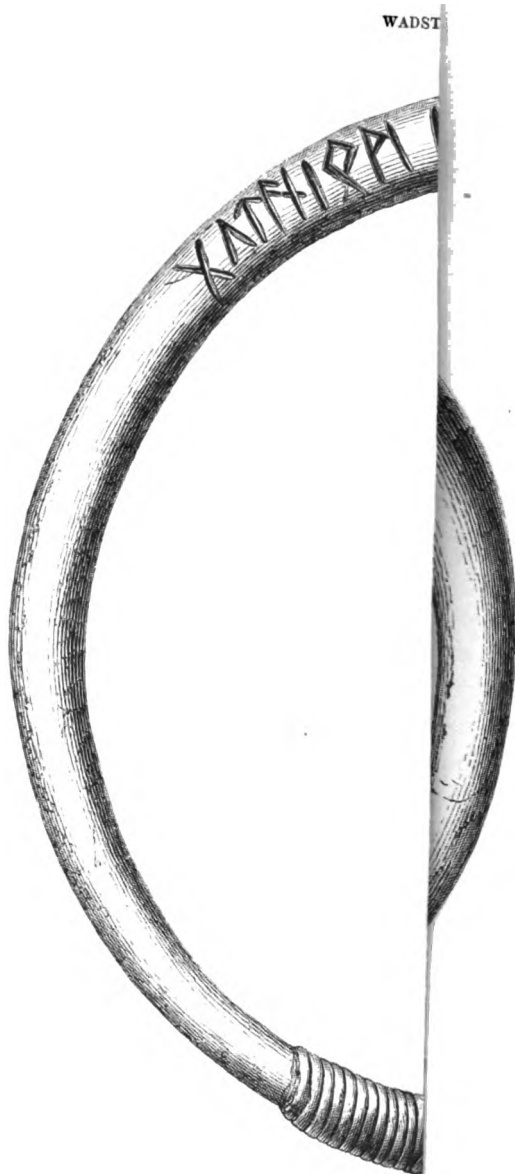
R, F, and O are already familiar runes;

Q and U we shall have occasion to notice in the St. Gallen futhorc, in the so-called Marcomannic alphabet, and on the Gilton sword-hilt;

S and J we have on some Scandinavian monuments, and HW on a spear from Müncheberg in Brandenburg.

Besides B and I, then, which are common to the Greek and Runic systems, we have eight characters in this alphabet which are certainly runes (in a rounded form), and A, D, and TH may be presumed to be derived from a Runic source. It is true that the R and S resemble their Latin correspondents; but this alphabet is so manifestly formed on the Greek model, that I cannot believe in any other than a Gothic origin for the characters which are





WADST



not Greek. To my mind they are the remains of an old futhorc, which this alphabet supplanted.

Of a futhorc, not identical with, but in many respects resembling, this, a golden bracteate, found at Wadstena in Sweden, gives us twenty-three runes in order (Pl. 2). They are preceded by the words *LUÐA TUWA*, whereof *tuwa* must be the Gothic *tewa*, "order," "series," and *lutha* a word expressing "letters." I take it for the genitive plural of a word corresponding to the O. E. *hlud*, O. G. *lut*, Mod. G. *laut*, "a sound," and would explain the two as "order of sounds." I think this is preferable to "order of the people," ("sounds" or "letters" understood), though *lutha* might well be derived from a correspondent of the Gothic *lauths*, "a person." In either case, the avowed object of the legend is to give the order of the futhorc, and (save that one rune, III. 7, is omitted) we may believe that this order is correct as far as it goes. Although it is not complete, the space not allowing for more characters, this futhorc is particularly valuable, inasmuch as it arranges the runes in divisions of eight, and so confirms and illustrates a statement in one of the St. Gallen MSS., that a sort of cryptic writing was in use, in which the runes were represented by tree-like stems, of which the number of branches on one side denoted the division, and on the other its place in the division, the word *CORUI*, I. 6, III. 8, I. 5, I. 2, II. 3, being given as an example. There is an inscription of this kind at Hackness in Yorkshire.

In the runes of this futhorc, the most ancient inscriptions in Sweden and Norway, on stone monuments, and in Denmark also, on bracteates and other movables, are written; and as the language of these inscriptions is certainly very closely related to the Gothic, more so than to any other known Indo-European language, we must have recourse to that language to determine the names of the runes, and consequently their powers.

The chief differences between these powers and those of our own runes may be expected to be in the case of the vowels; for these we must have recourse to the Gothic equivalents of the Old English names.

In three of these,—I. 2, O. E. *ur*, Goth. *urus*; I. 8, O. E. *wen*, G. *winja*; and II. 3, O. E. *is*,—I think the value was the same in both languages.

I. 4, O. E. *ós*, G. *ans*. This rune has the form of the O. E. *æsc*, but it would be a serious error to transcribe it *æ*. The O. E. rune is IV. 2; this is I. 4, the correspondent of the O. E. and N. *ós*, of which the value was *o*. The Gothic equivalent of this word, *ans*, suggests *a*<sup>3</sup> as the phonetic value of this rune in the futhorc before us.

II. 4. O. E. *gear*, G. *jer*. This rune is the fifteenth in Wulfila's alphabet, and the sound was the same as that of the corresponding O. E. rune; but in these inscriptions its value was certainly an *a*, and we must suppose that its name was *ar* in the dialect of these inscriptions, as in the Norse futhorc. In two inscriptions the form is varied,  $\vee\Lambda$  and  $\mathbf{\Lambda}$ , the latter resembling its correspondent in the Charnay futhorc, to be noticed in the sequel. The Norse form, +, is nearly the same as on a scramasax found in the Thames. By writing the rune *ing*, III. 6, upright instead of horizontally, some confusion is caused in one inscription.

II. 5. O. E. *ih*. This rune is of very rare occurrence on these old Gothic monuments, and I do not know the word which corresponds to the O. E. *ih*. I assign to it conjecturally the value *i*, the only one it will bear on the O. E. monuments on which it has hitherto appeared.

II. 7. This rune must have been a vowel. Whatever was its value in England, it had certainly an *a* sound in the old Gothic inscriptions, as Professor Stephens has shown, and its name perhaps was *alac*.

III. 3. O. E. *eh*, G. *ahwa*. This rune had probably a broader sound than with us. I transliterate it doubtfully *e*, thinking that it may have been rather *a*<sup>1</sup>, or *a*<sup>2</sup>, (*i. e.* as in "fate" or "fat.")

III. 7. O. E. *æthel*, G. *othal*. Its value in these inscriptions was certainly *o*, and it replaces occasionally I. 4. In an inscription at Istaby, which is in another dialect, it replaces I. 2, for

which *udal*, the Norse correspondent of *othal*, enables us to account.

IV. 1. A rune identical in form with our O. E. *ac* occurs once on a bracteate. The Northern forms of this word—Holl. *aik*, Norw. *eik*, Isl. *eyk*, Swed. *ek*, Dan. *eg*—suggest a sound approaching to *a*<sup>1</sup> or *e*<sup>1</sup>.

IV. 2.  $\Xi$  occurs but rarely. I suppose it to have corresponded to our O. E. *æsc*. - A sound not very different from the English is suggested by the Holl. *essche*, Isl. *eski* and *askr*, Swed. *æsk*, Dan. *æske*.

IV. 3. This occurs once. Its value probably the same as in English.

The 25th letter in Wulfila's alphabet, only once found hitherto on a Gothic monument, appears generally to represent the aspirated *w* of other dialects. Mr. Uppström thinks it was simply *w*. In a Runic beithluisnion, first published by Mr. O'Curry, it is expressed by *ua*, i. e., of course, a sound nearly the same.

In the Gothic, as well as in the English futhorc, we have great abundance of vowel sounds, sufficing for every requirement of the language, but we shall observe in the inscriptions an occasional interchange of the runes expressing the *a* sounds. In the MS., *ai* expresses *ε*, and *au* *ο* (as in *aipiscaupaus*, ἐπίσκοπος), and both these combinations, perhaps with the same value, occur in the inscriptions.<sup>1</sup>

When the later Norse futhorc was fixed, I. 2 (*ur*) was retained for *u*, I. 4 (*os*) for *o*, III. 4 (*ar*) for *a*, II. 3 (*is*) for *i*, and the other vowels were discarded.

The first inscription to be noticed in runes of this futhorc, though not the earliest known, is yet the most interesting and important, on account of the circumstances under which it was discovered. In the year

<sup>1</sup> It is important to bear this in mind. Had Bopp adverted to it, he would have seen that the vowel of reduplication in the Gothic præterite is the same as in Greek, *ai*=*ε*.

1837, some labourers in the neighbourhood of Petrossa, a town of Wallachia, in the southern Carpathians, found a treasure consisting of twenty-two objects of gold, many of them adorned with pearls, emeralds, sapphires, and garnets, which, in ignorance of its value, they sold to a Greek mason for £48. He tore the jewels from their settings, cut some of the things in pieces, and sold everything for which he could find a customer, until, in the following year, Prince Michael Ghizka, brother and minister of the reigning hospodar, on hearing of the discovery, confiscated what remained in his hands, and instituted a strict search for those which had been sold. The result was the securing for the museum of Bucharest twelve articles, mostly mutilated, and a few fragments. These were an ewer, a dish, a basin, two cups, a collar, four bird-shaped brooches, a torques, and a ring, all but the last of elaborate workmanship. The intrinsic value of the dish and basin alone is upwards of £1200, and the size of the brooches, ( $10\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $9\frac{3}{4}$ , 9,  $6\frac{1}{4}$  inches), indicates that their owner, certainly a Goth, could not have been of lower than kingly rank. That owner Dr. Bock<sup>1</sup> has identified beyond a doubt. In that mountain range Athanaric, king of the Visigoths, bound by an oath to his father never to set foot on Roman soil, maintained himself for a few years, when Frithigern and Alawiwa, and the Christian Goths, migrated into Mœsia, until his subjects, under the pressure of famine, resolved to follow their brethren, and he was forced to seek refuge at Constantinople, where he died 25th January, A.D. 381, the fifteenth day after his arrival. The treasure doubtless was his, and the dangers, incident to a flight through a country infested by Huns, would occasion its being secreted previous to his departure. Of this treasure, the ring, though the least in intrinsic or artistic value, is of the most import-

<sup>1</sup> As quoted by M. de Linas (*Revue Archéologique*, Jan. 1868).

ance to our object, inasmuch as it presents to us the only inscription that has yet been found in the ancient territories of the Goths, written in their original runes. The inscription (Pl. 2),—

GUTANIOWIHAILAG,

is clear, and so is the meaning of *hailag*; the only difficulty is in the division of the words which precede it. I have thought that *wi* may have meant originally “a ring,” (cf. Latin *vi-ere*, to “hoop” casks; *vi-etus*, “bent;” *vi-men*, a “hoop”), and eventually an “idol,” on account of the sacred use of rings, and that so *wi-bed*, an “altar,” was the “bed” on which the “ring” was laid in the temple. In this sense I read the inscription “Holy ring of the Goths.” But as this ring was found in the country which the Goths occupied, before they passed over into Mœsia under the pastoral care of Wulfila, and belongs to the time of his translation of the Scriptures, (although, of course, it may be of much higher antiquity), we may expect that the language will prove to be the same; and for this reason I prefer *Gutani*, which is actually a form of the Gothic genitive plural, (usually *ane*, but *e* and *i* interchange), to *Gutanio*, which has no analogy. *Owi* then remains, and this is a Gothic form of the neuter noun, consistent with the neuter form of the adjective *hailag*. The word does not occur in the existing remains of the Gothic language, and its meaning can only be inferred from what other families of Teutonic speech supply. I think it must be related to the O. E. *æ'w*, “something binding,” “marriage vow,” “law,” with which *áth*, an “oath,” is connected. I therefore translate the inscription, “Holy bond” (or “vow”) “of the Goths.”

In the ninth century, in England, we read of the Danes, when they had broken all former covenants, swearing their most solemn oath to Ælfred on the

“holy ring.”<sup>1</sup> In the Irish annals,<sup>2</sup> in the ninth and tenth centuries, we have frequent mention of the “ring of Thomair” (*i. e.* Thor); and Arngrim Jonas<sup>3</sup> and the Eyrbyggja Saga<sup>4</sup> tell us of such a ring preserved on the altars of Scandinavian temples. Such a ring very probably was the example before us; and may not its inscription be a record of the vow by which Athanaric was bound?

One remarkable trace exists of the progress of this futhorc from this, its earliest known home, to its last home in Scandinavia. In 1865, near the Müncheberg Railway Station, Mark-Brandenburg, a discovery occurred of what were evidently two interments of warriors, whose remains had been consumed by fire. An iron shield-boss, hemispherical,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches broad, with its hollow  $4\frac{1}{4}$  inches broad and  $2\frac{1}{4}$  high, contained the burnt bones of one, and a broken urn had probably contained those of the other. Each had been provided with a lance, a shield, of which the boss and its handle remained, and a knife; and besides these objects there were a bronze buckle, two beads, one of glass the other of clay, two iron hooks, two small oblong plates, two shield nails, a pin of iron, a bolt, and fragments of an-

<sup>1</sup> “A.D. DCCCLXXVI. And in this same year the army of the Danes in Engla-land swore oaths to King Ælfred upon the holy ring, which they never before would do to any nation.”—*English Chronicle*.

<sup>2</sup> For example:—“A.D. DCCCXCIV. The ring of Tomair, and the sword of Charlus, were carried away by force, by Maoilsechlainn, from the foreigners of At Cliat.”—*Annals of the Four Masters*.

<sup>3</sup> “In ara præterea annulus asservabatur argenteus, vel ex orichalco, unciarum xx, quem, forensi aliquo munere fungentes, jusjurandum jam præstituri, victimarum illinitum cruore, religiose inter jurandum con-tractabant.”—*Rerum Island. i. 7*.

<sup>4</sup> This Saga tells us that Thorolf carried with him to Iceland, about A.D. 883, the framework and columns of the temple of Thor, from the isle of Mostur, and re-erected them in that island on Helga-fels. This temple contained an altar, on which was laid a silver ring, weighing two ounces, to be worn by the priest in every solemn assembly, and to be used in administration of oaths.





MÜNCHEBERG SPEAR-HEAD. (St. p. 660).



other urn. The first boss and the lance-heads were in remarkably fine preservation, owing, doubtless, to their having been in a state of glowing heat at the time of the interment. The smaller lance,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, was quite plain; the larger (Pl. 3, full size) was adorned with incised bands and other ornamental marks, filled with silver, on the socket; and, on each side of the raised ridge of each side of the blade, with mysterious marks, similarly inlaid, and with six runes, of which the first is the 25th letter of Wulfila's alphabet, the second u or r, the fifth II. 4, which in Wulfila's alphabet has the y sound, but in other inscriptions of this class seems to stand for a. HWRANAA, or WRANAA, may be simply the name of the owner of the weapon; but, taking the runes in connection with the marks which accompany them, and which probably were intended to impart deadly efficacy to the weapon, and the possibility that the second rune may be u, and the word HWUANAA, I am inclined to compare it with the O. E. *hwan*, "calamity," and to consider it as the imperative of a verb of kindred meaning. The chief difficulty in the way of interpreting these inscriptions arises from the poverty of our Gothic vocabulary. In illustration of this view, I may mention a sling-bullet,<sup>1</sup> formed of the spike of an echinite, found at Glostrup, in Sealand, inscribed ru, "kill" (cf. Fr. *tuer*), and well-known imperatives of the same kind on Greek and Roman sling-bullets. Perhaps, however, the explanation first suggested is better.

In the month of April or May, 1839, a peasant, who had removed a large stone, found in the earth beneath it the following objects of gold, in the neighbourhood of Cöslin, on the coast of Pomerania.<sup>2</sup> They probably marked the grave of a lady:—

1. A pentagonal ring with ten triangular facettes, on eight

<sup>1</sup> Stephens, p. 848.

<sup>2</sup> Stephens, p. 601.

of which are zoomorphic ornaments, on the ninth a fylfot, and on the tenth runes. The ring is too small for any but a female finger. (Pl. 4.)

A plain hoop-ring.

3. A fragment of a thick arm-ring.

4. A parabolic bead of thick, spirally-twisted gold thread.

5. Six bracteate pendants, one of which has a Runic legend. (Pl. 4.)

6. Two coins, one of Theodosius (A.D. 379-95), the other of Leo I. (457-74). It is not stated whether these were looped for suspension as part of a necklace or not.

The bracteate legend, *WAIGA*, gives us a personal name, apparently the same as that of one of the grandsons of Woden, an ancestor of the Mercian kings, but he must have lived in the latter half of the fourth century; and this deposit is proved, by the coin of Leo, to be later by at least a century. It is, however, quite possible that the bracteate may be as ancient as the coin of Theodosius. The ring gives the word *ALU*, which we shall have occasion to notice again, and above it the rune *ih*.

A bracteate sent to Copenhagen from Hamburg, in 1852, and therefore probably found in Holstein or in Hanover, has a figure of a man stooping, with his right hand raised to his mouth, a bird before him, a dog behind him, and the same word *ALU*. (Pl. 4.)

In 1859, at Nebenstedt, in the neighbourhood of Dannenberg, where the Jeetzel flows into the Elbe, several gold bracteates, probably a lady's necklace, and some iron fragments were found. Three of the bracteates bear runes, but their legends are utterly unintelligible. I would not notice them but for the fact of their having been found in that district. (Pl. 4.)

Inscriptions in the runes of this futhorc have been found on twelve monuments of stone in Norway, and on nine in Sweden. In Norway, four bracteates of gold; in Sweden, an amulet, a brooch, and fourteen



SLESVIG GOLDEN BRACTEATE. (Stephens, p. 528).



NEBENSTEDT GOLDEN BRACTEATE.  
(Stephens, p. 524).



NEBENSTEDT GOLDEN BRACTEATE.  
(Stephens, p. 523).



CÖSLIN GOLDEN RING. (St. p. 600).



CÖSLIN GOLDEN BRACTEATE. (St. p. 511).



bracteates; in Denmark, a horn, a coronet, a brooch, the chape of a scabbard, a fragment of a sword-hilt, several arrows, a comb, a plane, a fragment of a knife-handle, and about three dozen bracteates, also present runes; and, with the exception of the greater part of the bracteate legends, these inscriptions are clear and intelligible. In discussing them I shall not follow the geographical order, but rather that which will best develop the grammatical forms of the language.

1. On a stone pillar at Istaby, Bleking, Sweden,—

AFATA HARIWULAFa HADUWULAFa HAERUWULAFIA  
WARAIT RUNAA ÐAIAA.

“After Hariwulafia (&) Hathuwulafia, Haeruwulafia wrote these runes.”

There can be no doubt either of the reading or of the meaning of this inscription. As for the runes, we note eight occurrences of II. 4, in the form which the Charnay brooch (Pl. 14) presents, usually in places where we might expect I. 4, but once in the word *runaa*, where we have III. 8 in some of the inscriptions which follow. We have also I. 4, replacing II. 7, at the end of the second word.

Of the personal names, *Haeruwulafia* is certainly in the nominative, *Hariwulafa* and *Hathuwulafa* as certainly in the dative; and as *wulafia*, the final element, corresponds to the Gothic *wulfs*, we have here the representative of the 1st strong declension of masculine nouns, of which the dative ended in *a* in Gothic, O. H. G., and O. S. *Runau*, accusative plural, repre-

sents the 4th strong declension of feminine nouns, which formed this case in *a* in O. F. and O. E.; and *thaiiaa* represents the O. H. G. *diô*, O. S. and O. F. *thia*. The preposition *afata* = Goth. *afra*, and the verb *warait* = Goth. *wrait*, show the same fulness of vowels as in the proper names, which of course correspond to the O. E. *Herewulf*, *Heathowulf*, and *Heorowulf*.

2. On a square stone, found in a barrow in Bratsberg parish, Tronyem, Norway, along with a spear-head and a metal urn, is the name

þfiri

DALIA.

3. On a stone pillar, at Berga, Sodermanland, Sweden, we have

fini

FINO

written horizontally, and

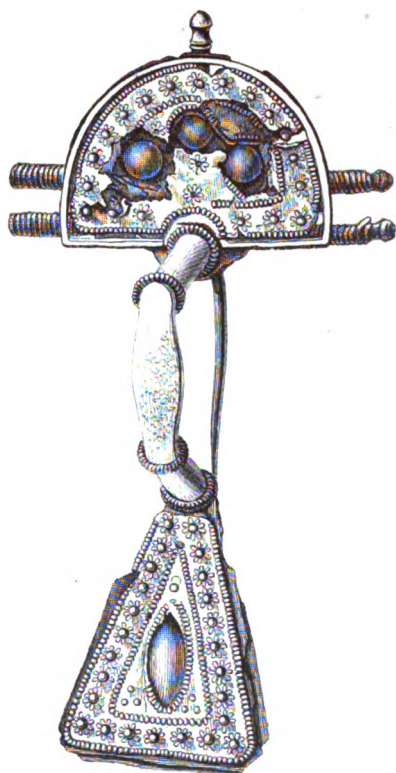
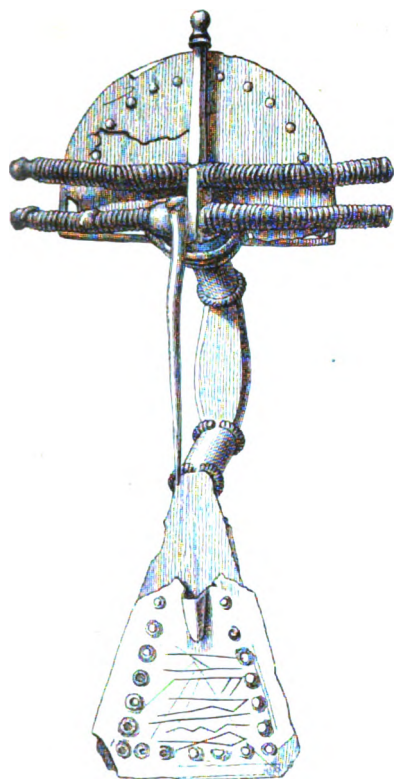
saligastia

SALIGASTIA

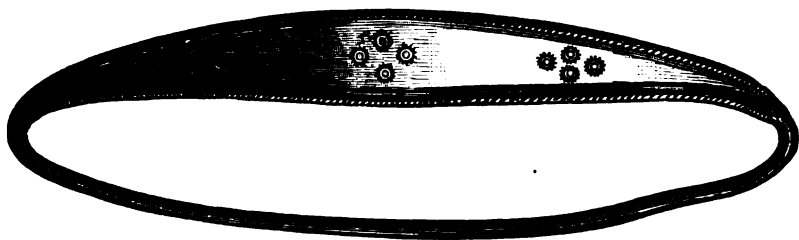
written vertically. The latter is a dialectic variation of the historic name *Saligast*. The former I take to be the name of a female, because names with the same termination occur on the two following ornaments, each of which seems to have been part of the decoration of a lady.

4. On a coronet of gold, found with the skeleton of an ox, beneath stones which were supposed to be the remains of a disturbed grave chamber, LEDRO or LUDRO. (Pl. 5.)

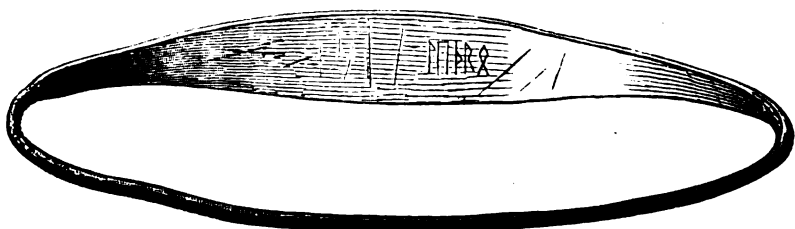
5. On a brooch of silver gilt, found at Himlingøie, Sealand, Denmark, in 1835, with a necklace of thirty-one glass and two amber beads, part of a bone comb,



HIMLINGØIE BROOCH. (St. p. 297).



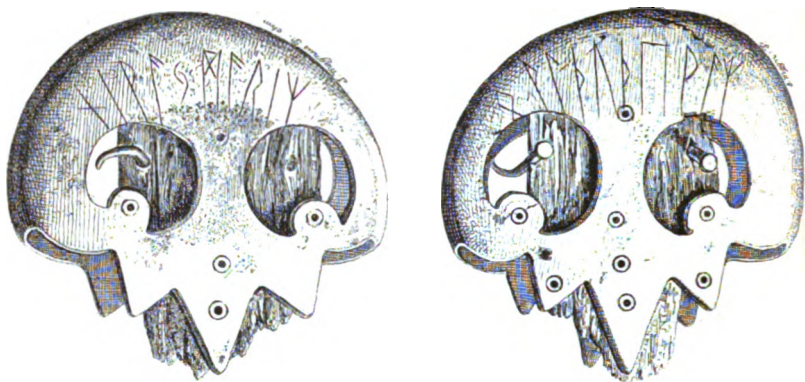
DALBY GOLDEN DIADEM. (St. p. 283).



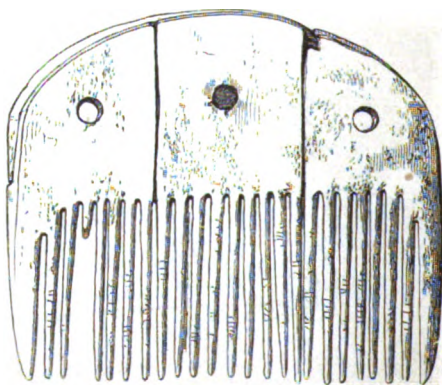
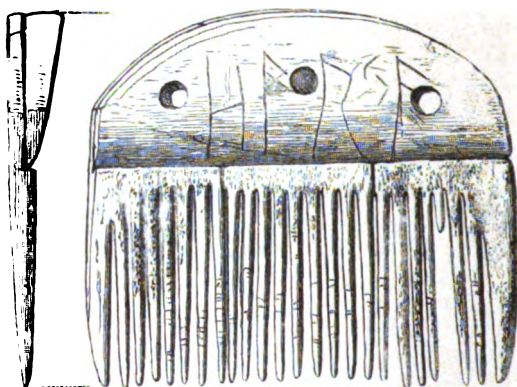








THORSBJERG SWORD-CHAFE. (St. p. 295).



VI COMB (Stephens, p 305).

and a bronze strainer, HARISO. (Pl. 5.) A brooch of exactly the same type, but without ornament, found by Dr. M'Pherson at Kertch, in the Crimea, is in the British Museum. (Coll. Antiqua, v., Pl. xiv.)

It does not seem necessary to suppose that the later Norse corruption (or abbreviation) *o* for *oh*, "owns," was in use at the early period to which these ornaments belong. On the contrary, as on 4 the vowel seems essential to the completion of the word, and as we shall notice in the sequel a name, certainly in the nominative, ending in *o*, I think we may safely set down *Fino*, *Lethro*, and *Hariso* as a class of feminine names. The Berga monument certainly commemorates two persons, and the different direction in which these names appear, warrants the inference that *Saligastia* was written before it was set up, and *Fino* after.

6. On the two sides of the chape of a scabbard, found in Thorsbjerg Moss, Denmark, we have the inscription NIWAAMARIA, OWLÐUÐEWAA. (Pl. 6.)

These are two personal names; names, probably, of successive owners of the sword. The former belongs to the same class as those noticed above; a name of which we have the first element in *Nevogast*, the second in *Fraomar*, etc. The latter I divide *Owlthū-thewaa*; and I compare these elements with the Gothic *wulthus* *O.E. wuld-or*; Goth. *thiwa*, *O.E. theow*. Each element enters into the composition of personal names; *Wuldulf*, *Wulthari*, *Vulteric*, *Woldarhilt*, *Sigisvult*; *Ecgtheow*, *Ongentheow*.

7. In a barrow at Stenstad, in Bratsberg parish, Thelemark, Norway (which contained four urns filled with remains of burnt bones, a small gold ring, four beads, a cruciform brooch, a plate of bronze, fragments of a knife, and a bucket, with bronze handle and bands), a stone was found, inscribed



IGIA ON HALAA.

The fourth rune is II. 4, of a form differing from that on the bracteate only in the inclination of the lower limb to the left.

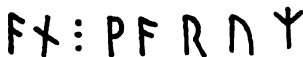
The name *Igia* seems to be the same as *Ikia*, that of a female mentioned by Adam of Bremen (I. 19). The word *hel*, "grave" or "hades," appears in two different forms;

a. O.E. *hell*, dat. *helle*; O.S. *hel*. dat. *hella*; Goth.

b. „ „ „ *hellia*, „ *helliū*; „ „ *halja*, dat. *haljai*;

and I think *halaa*, in the dative, belongs to the first. I take the meaning of this inscription to be, "Igiā in grave." Very similar to this is the inscription,—

8. On a fragment of a stone found also in a barrow in Tomstad, Lister and Mandal amt, Norway.



—AN: WARUA.

It was accompanied by a sickle blade, two knife-blades, two cakes of burnt clay, and two beads, so that the grave was probably that of a female.

As the O.E. verb *wreon* has the same meaning as *helan*, *warua* may be equivalent to *halaa*; and the meaning will be "— in grave."

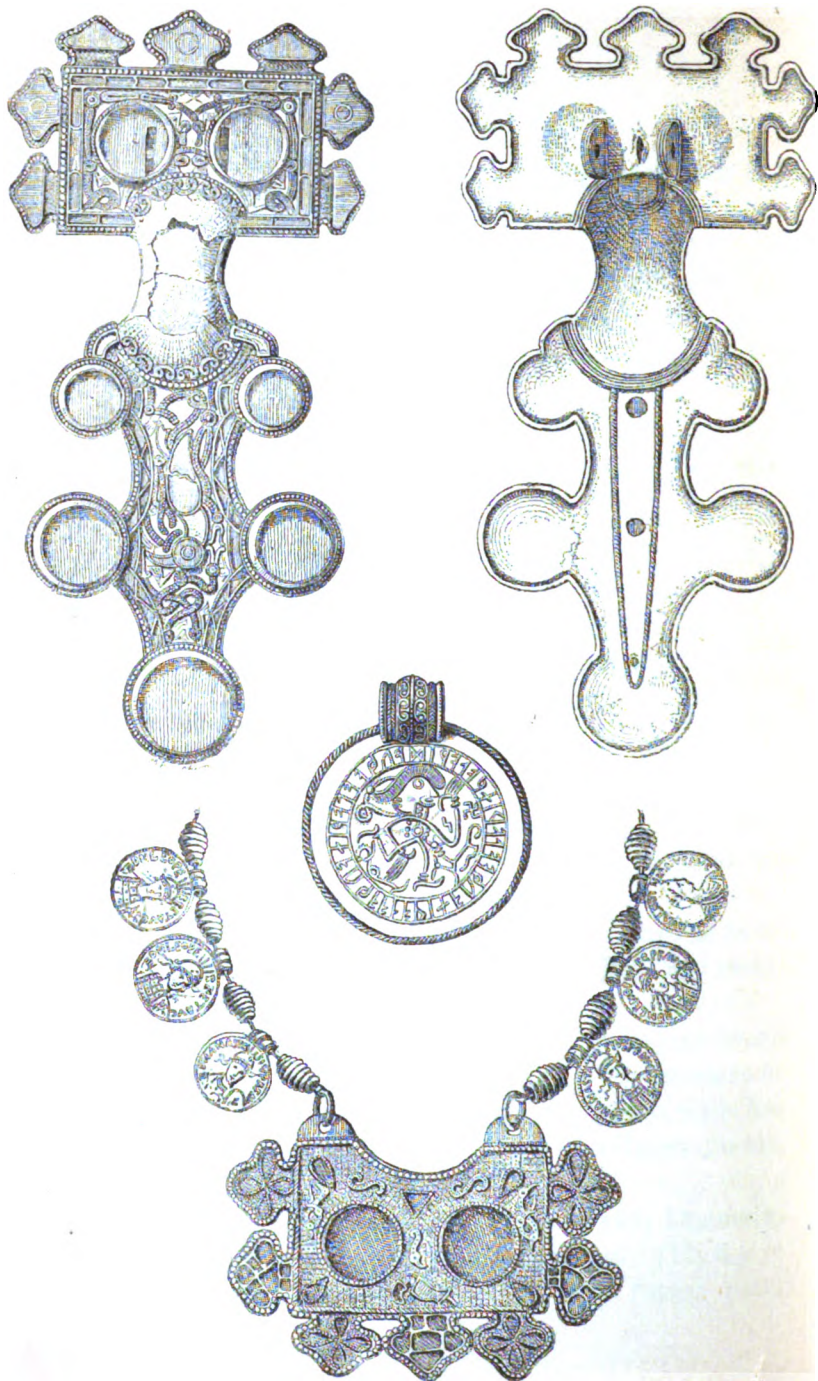
This is the third instance of an inscribed stone found in a barrow, a custom of which the old cemetery at Hartlepool presented other examples; stones with Romanesque or Runic legends, serving as pillows for the heads of skeletons.

9. A bone comb, found in Vi moss, Fyen, Denmark, is inscribed HARAA, a simple personal name. (Pl. 6.)

I notice this here, on account of the fourth rune,



SKODBORG GOLDEN BRacteATE and GOLDEN BROOCH. (St. p. 560).



GOLDEN BREAST-JEWEL. Half size. (Worsaae No. 397).

which on this, as on 6 and 7, and the Müncheberg spear, must be II. 4, a rune which is sometimes confounded with III. 6. The bracteate futhorc shows the essential difference between the two; but when the strokes of II. 4 are curved, and III. 6 is written vertically instead of horizontally, the position of the rune, or the form of the word, must determine its value. To my mind, *Niwangmaria* is an impossible name, and *Harnga* would require a vowel to complete it. The coin of Beornwulf, on which Prof. Stephens sees an instance of the rune *ing* employed to express the sound *ing* is badly represented; the character is A, and the moneyer's name, as on other coins of Beornwulf and Ludica, is *Monna*, not *Monning*. There is no instance in Runic inscriptions, nor in names on coins where runes are introduced, of a rune being used to express the sound of its name.

10. A gold bracteate, found at Skodborg, S. Jutland, along with a gold brooch of extraordinary richness and beauty, certainly the property of a lady, bears the legend,—

UAA ALAWINA UAA ALAWINA UAA ALAWINA ALAWIDA.

(Pl. 7.)

Here the second, twelfth, and twenty-second runes are undoubtedly II. 4, as on the futhorc bracteate; and I believe the thirtieth is the same rune reversed, in this case replacing I. 4; it is certainly neither II. 8 nor III. 6.

This legend, in my opinion, contains a threefold repetition of *Uaa Alawina* "Woe to Alawini;" where *uaa* corresponds to the O.E. *wá, waa, weá*, and *Alawina* is a personal man's name in the dative, from a nominative *Alawini*=O.E. *Alwine*. The remaining word seems like a play upon *Alawina, alawida* "all widely." An imprecation such as this, directed against an enemy of her husband or herself, does not seem an improbable legend for an ornament worn by a lady. In this respect we shall see it does not stand alone.

Fortunately we are able to obtain an approximate date for the fabrication of these ornaments. There can be no doubt of the contemporaneity of the brooch with the gold pendent ornament (Pl. 7, half size), which forms part of a necklace, with a solidus of Valentinian II., three of Leo, and two of Anastasius, and which therefore may be presumed to be of the sixth century.

11. On a bracteate, found at Bolbro (Pl. 8, fig. 3) compared with a fragment of another of the same type found at Vedby, (Pl. 8, fig. 2), both in Fyen, is the legend OWAA LUTEAD LAUA. The 12th character is L on the Bolbro piece, evidently an error, for LL could not come together in such context. The Vedby fragment happily supplies A in this place. *Owaa* is a personal name, masculine; *luteath* corresponds to O.E. *lutiath*; *laua* "low;" "Owaa louteth low." What else can this be but an exultation over a fallen enemy? The device is a man kneeling, and his right hand raised to his mouth, with a gesture of entreaty. The attitude is precisely the same as that of the figure on a bracteate pendant, from a grave in the Bifrons cemetery lately opened by Mr. Godfrey-Faussett, which is here given, in anticipation of his paper, for the sake of the illustration.



I may also remark that two of the bracteates found at Nebenstedt, in Hanover (Pl. 4), have the figure of a man exactly resembling that on these, but stooping rather than kneeling. On one the legend is OAU LLIAD AMTLLET, which seems to be intended for something like





1. (St. No. 19).



2. (St. No. 52).



3. (St. No. 51).



4. (St. No. 20).



5. (St. No. 18).



6. (St. No. 21).



7. (St. No. 36)



8. (St. No. 25).



9. (St. No. 57).



the above; on the other it is GIAU IUD GAL GLIAU. These are specimens of the unintelligible legends which most of the bracteates present.<sup>1</sup> I will notice in this place two others of similar types.

12. Two bracteates, found at Sconá, in Sweden, have a man kneeling, with the same gesture, but of design very different from the above: before him a dog and a bird. (Pl. 8, fig. 1.) The legend is LAWU LOUEA GEALLU. The fourth rune is O's of the English futhorc; the eighth and eleventh are the rune I have noticed above, as probably IV. 2; the tenth is G, with two bars attached to the right; whether intended for GA or for another rune I will not say.

13. A fragment of a large bracteate, found at Snydstrup, Haderslev, S. Jutland, in 1841, has a man standing with both hands raised, a stag before him, and a

<sup>1</sup> Professor Stephens energetically protests against the idea of the existence of blunders in the legends of these bracteates, or the inscriptions on the Old Northern monuments. Yet a comparison of his bracteate 49 with 49 b shows manifest blundering, and comparison of his bracteates 35 to 41, the same. We have seldom the opportunity of collating two copies of a lapidary inscription, when we suspect, (as we have often good reason to suspect), a blunder of the writer. Fortunately I can cite one, and that very much to the point.

The inscription on the coffin of Eshmunezer, king of Sidon, was certainly all traced on the top of the stone, before it was given into the hands of the writer. The writer began his work, and wrote eleven clumsy letters at the beginning of the two first lines and eight in the third, and then probably was discharged for bad work. Another writer was then employed, and went on to the middle of the thirteenth line, where another hand appears and continues to the end.

Now in this royal epitaph, there is a blunder of one letter for another in the third hand, and an omission of an important letter in the second, which would have embarrassed attempts at interpretation, if we had no fortunately a duplicate of nearly half the inscription written round the head, which corrects them and makes them intelligible, but has in its turn three blunders of its own, (one letter written for another and two omissions), which the original corrects. Did his majesty of Sidon "pay good money for bad work," or did he hilk his scribes, one for bad writing, (deservedly), the others for blunders? There the blunders are, at any rate, uncorrected, in a royal epitaph.

bird, a dog behind him, and the legend LAUEA ARU. (Pl. 8, fig. 5.)

14. Another small bracteate, from Haderslev, has a man kneeling with a bird before him, and LA. (Pl. 8, fig. 6.)

15. A bracteate of the same type as 12 has the legend SALU SALU, (Pl. 8, fig. 4); perhaps "health, health!"

16. On a bracteate, found in Sealand, we have the legend, HAVIUHA HAITILA: FAUAUAISA: GIBUAUNA :. . . (Pl. 8, fig. 9.)

Here *fauauaisa gibuauna* is certainly equivalent to the Gothic *fauaizo gibono*, "of few gifts." The old warriors of the North could scarcely think of a greater defect, in the character of a prince, than stinginess;<sup>1</sup> so we are prepared to expect something the reverse of complimentary in what precedes. The object, *Haitila*, is the name of a well-known enemy of the Goths, the celebrated King of the Huns, and I have never changed my opinion that *haviuha* is an imperative passive.<sup>2</sup> Instead, however, of explaining it by means of the verb

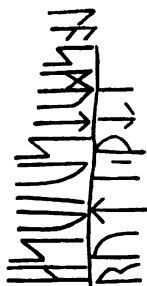
<sup>1</sup> Witness the following passages from Beowulf:—

- |                                                                         |                                                              |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. 3443. "Nallas beágas geaf,<br>Denum æfter dóme."                     | "He gave no rings<br>to the Denas after judgment."           |
| 1. 3449. "Thu the lær be thon<br>gum-cyste ongit."                      | "Thou teach thyself by him<br>Understand generosity."        |
| 1. 3502. "Gytsath grom-hydig<br>nallas on gylp seleth<br>fætte beágas." | "He covets, grim-minded<br>gives in pride no<br>rich rings." |
| 1. 3521. "Bebeorh the thone bealo-<br>nith,<br>"Beowulf leofa."         | "Keep from thee that baleful evil,<br><br>dear Beowulf."     |

<sup>2</sup> *Ya* is the characteristic of the passive in Sanskrit and Zend, and slight traces of it remain in other languages of the family, as in the Latin *mor-iu-ntur* (= Sans. *mri-ya-nti*), Goth. *uski-ya-nata* "enatum" (supposing *uski-ya* "enascor"). One example of this occurs at Behistun, *patipa-y-uwa*, "be prepared." This *ya* Bopp identifies with the Bengali *ja*, "to go," to which *eo*, in the O. E. præterite *eo-de*, "he went," corresponds. These words, then, *kau-iuh-a* and *tau-iu-a*, may well be compared with the imperative *patipa-y-uwa* above, and with the Sanskrit *sná-ya-sva*, Zend *sna-ya-nuha*, "be washed."

*hahan*, "to hang," I now prefer *hawian*, "to look at," used in an unfavourable sense, as in the adverb *hewendlices*, "disdainfully," and translate "Be despised! Haitila, of few gifts." I still regard it as an imprecation directed against the historic Attila; a monument, therefore, of the first half of the fifth century. The device is the most common of all those which the bracteates present, a horse with a human head upon its back; but this is a degradation of an original type. There are examples which give half the body and arms besides, so that the full type represented a horseman; and in this instance alone, of all that I know, he is furnished with a spear.

17. On a stone pillar, at Solvesborg, Bleking, Sweden,



— AAMU TAUUIA HRUTI W —.

Unfortunately this stone has been very much injured, and some letters must be wanting at the beginning and the end. As on the Istaby stone, the second and sixth runes must be A; in these inscriptions the s is of a different form. *Tauuia* stands, I believe, in the same relation to *tawian*, "to make," as *hawiuha* to *hawian*; its meaning will be "be made." *Hruti* corresponds to the Gothic *hrôt*, a "roof" or "covering." I supply L at the beginning, and obtain the word *laamu*, which may correspond to the O.E. *laam*, "loam," or the O.F. *lame*, which occurs in monumental inscriptions, (such as the following at Châlons-sur-Marne, "Ici gist desoz ceste lame,"

etc.). I translate this fragment, "O earth" (or "stone") "be a covering for —." There is nothing out of the way in a monumental inscription taking the form of an apostrophe to the earth which has received the body, or to the stone which marks the grave. We have examples of this kind, of heathen and of Christian times; such as—

"Te lapis, obtestor levis ut super ossa quiescas."

*Gruter*, 685.

"Suscipe, terra, tuo corpus de corpore sumptum

Reddere quod valeas vivificante Deo."—*Ibid.* 1175.

And in the same spirit are the lines in *Beowulf*:

l. 4486. "Hold thú nú hrúse,      "Hold thou now earth,  
          nú hæleth ne móston      now that warriors must not,  
          eorla æhte."                      earls' possession."

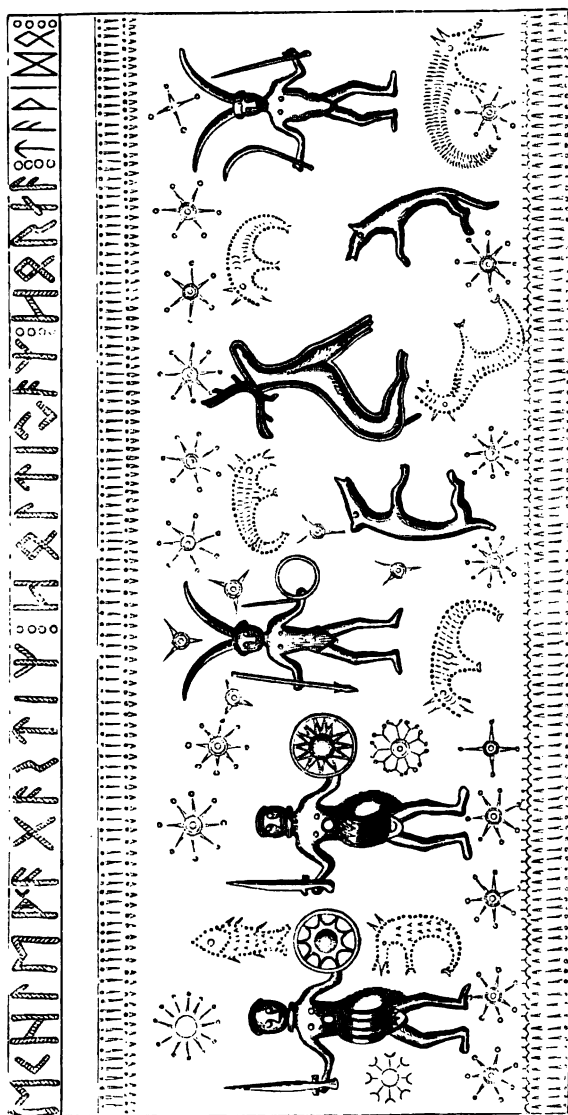
18. On a horn of gold, found in 1734,<sup>1</sup> at Gallehus, near Tondern, in S. Jutland,—

EC HLEWAGASTIA HOLTINGAA HORNA TAWIDO. (Pl. 9.) Here we have another personal name, of the same class as *Saligastia*. *Holtingaa*, I think, must be a genitive plural. In later dialects *horna* would be *horn*; but on another monument we have *staina* for the later *stain*, and on another *hlaiwa* for *hlaiw*; three neuters, nominative and accusative, (always the same in the neuter), ending in *a*. *Tawido* corresponds to the Gothic *tawida* from *taujan*. In taking *ec* for the first personal pronoun, agreeing with *tawido*, I am supported by the authority of Bredsdorf, Rafn, and Bugge. Professor Stephens objects to this, saying that out of thousands of blocks, slabs, etc., in Runic or Roman letters, he cannot find one beginning with this *I*. I can multiply examples, but it will suffice to cite the following.

EGO GENNARIUS FICI QVI IN EO TEMPORE FVI MAGESTER MARMORARIUS.—*Gazzena. Iscr. Christ. del Piemonte*, 45.

EGO PATER VITALINVS ET MATER MARTINA SCRIBSIMVS NON GRAN-

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix.



Top of Runic GOLDEN HORN. (St. p. 325).





DEUM GLORIAM SED DOLVM FILIORVM TRES FILIOS IN DIEBV<sup>S</sup> XXVII HIC  
 POSVIMVS SAPAVDV<sup>M</sup> FILIVM QVI VIXIT ANNOS VII ET DIES XXVI RVST-  
 TICAM FILIAM QVI VIXIT ANNOS IIII ET DIES XX ET RVSTICVLA FILIA  
 QVI VIXIT ANNOS III ET DIES XXXIII.—*Le Blant, Inscr. Chr. de la*  
*Gaule*, 460.

SIMPLICIUS CONTIGI INCOMPARABILI CVM QVA VIXI ANNOS III ME-  
MORIÆ CAUSA FECI.—*Ibid.* 533.

HOC PAVIMENTVM HVNILIS ABBAS COMPOSERE FECI ANGILBERTVS  
EGO DVCTVS AMORE DEI.—*Bolland*, iii. 94.

Amongst these old Gothic inscriptions we have two others. The meaning of that before us is clearly "I, Hlewagastia, made the horn of the Holtings." In this inscription we have the true form of the rune III. 6, nearly the same as on the bracteate; and it is especially worthy of remark that the rune I. 8 is followed by an accent, as it is in 35 of 41 instances of its occurrence in the lay of Hildebrand. (For examples, see Pl. 1, *p*)

19. On a stone pillar at Tun, Smalenene, Norway, are the longest and the most valuable of all these inscriptions.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
श्रीकृष्णाय नमः  
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

EC WIWAA AFTER WODURIDE WITAI GAHALAIBAN WO-  
RAHTO R(UNOA). ARBINGA NOBUINGOA DOHTRIA DALIDUN  
(HITA) WODURIDE STAINA.

The reading of the first inscription is clear, with the exception of the twenty-fifth rune, which Munch read *n*, Stephens *i*. If it be the former, *witan* will be a substantive, "counsellor;" if the latter, it will be an adjective, agreeing with the substantive following. This adjective form more resembles the O.F. than any other dialect; but *gahalaiban* (=Gothic *gahlaibin*, "companion," dative, of weak declension), rather resembles O.E. *-an*, O.S. *-on* and *-en* than O.F. *-a*. *Wiwaa* is a personal name, *Woduride* another, in the dative. *Worakto* is almost exactly the O.S. *woraktu*=Gothic *waurhta*, O.E. *worhte*. The word which follows began with *l*, *r*, *b*, or *w*. I have supposed *runoa*; but other words, corresponding to our O.E. *leger* "grave," *beorh*, "mound," are equally possible.

"I, *Wiwaa*, after *Wodurid*, (my) wise companion, wrought runés."

In the second inscription there are two doubtful places. The thirteenth rune is *u* in Olaf Worm's copies, and, from Munch's and Stephens's engravings, this appears to me more likely than Munch's *ε* or Stephens's *li*. In the third line I prefer supplying *HTA*, to imagining an infinitive *SETA*, at variance with all the dialects of our language, except the Northumbrian English and the Norse, which the dialect of these inscriptions resembles less than any other. *Arbinga* may be a family name, or it may mean "heiress," as Professor Stephens suggests. *Singostua* and *Nothuingoa* I take to be feminine names. *Dohtria* is a new form of the plural, nearer to the Gothic *dauhtrijus* than to the O.E. *dohtra*, O.H.G. *tohterá* and *tohtar*, O.S. *dohtrar*. To obtain the meaning of *dalidun*, which is, of course, third plur. præterit., we must remember that there are two words perfectly distinct in form in every age and dialect of our language.

| Goth.             | O.E.         | O.S.         | Mod. E.       | Holl.         | Sw. & Dan.   | Isl.          | O.H.G.         | Mod. G.        |
|-------------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|
| a. <i>dal</i> ,   | <i>dál</i> , | <i>dal</i> , | <i>dale</i> , | <i>dal</i> ,  | <i>dal</i> , | <i>dalr</i> , | <i>tal</i> ,   | <i>thal</i> .  |
| b. <i>dails</i> , | <i>dæl</i> , | <i>dél</i> , | <i>deal</i> , | <i>deel</i> , | <i>del</i> , | <i>deil</i> , | <i>theil</i> , | <i>theil</i> . |

The former is a "hole," "cleft," "hollow," "quarry," "valley." The latter a "part," "portion," "share." Evidently *dalidun*, from *dalian*, must be connected with the former, rather than with the latter, (which we may presume would give *dailidun*), and the meaning must be "quarried." *Hita*, the word which I supply, is the Goth. demonstrative neuter, "this," agreeing with *staina*.

"The Arbing Singostua, the Arbing Nothuingoa, daughters, quarried this stone [for] Wodurid."

In this inscription, the rune III. 6 occurs four times, under a form approaching that of II. 4.

In a former essay I have remarked that *gahalaiba*, "companion" (*cum-panis*), equally with *gened̥t* and *ge s̥ith*, denotes one of the band of associates who were always attached to a Teutonic prince; that Wiwaa, to whom Wodurid was thus related, must have been of royal rank; that a prince of this name was living at the time to which Professor Munch believed this monument to belong,—*Wewa* (or *Wehha*), of whom the Cambrian genealogist says, "he first reigned in Britain over the nation of the East Angles"; and that he may have dwelt for a time on the coast of Norway, and thence have come to occupy East Anglia, where Wiveton, near the coast of Norfolk, and Wivenhoe in Essex, bear his name, as Erpingham, not far from Wiveton, does that of the Arbings, the family to which Wodurid belonged. This identification I still maintain, and I hail as an important verification of the consequence,—that some of the Angles must have dwelt some time in Norway,—the fact which Mr. Worsaae asserts; viz. :—that "certain types of brooches which are peculiar to the ancient Anglian districts, in the northern and middle parts of England, hitherto entirely unrepresented in the collections, not only from Angel, but from Denmark generally, re-appear in the

west and north of Norway, indicating that the intercourse between Norway and England in those days was more active than between Denmark and England." Before I read this I was struck with the resemblance between the brooch from the Stenstad barrow and others from the Anglian districts of England, (*e.g.* from Yorkshire, Akerman's 'Pagan Saxondom' Pl. VIII. 5; from Cambridgeshire, Neville's 'Saxon Obsequies,' Pl. 6, gr.; 91, 95 Pl. 4, 171; Pl. 6, 40, 47; Pl. 7, 31; Pl. 10, 173); and it is worthy of remark, that the lady, whose name I have compared with that on the Stenstad stone, was the owner of Ramelsloh, not far from Hamburg, on the south, *i.e.* the Anglian side of the Elbe. I am confirmed, then, in my view, that this precious Tun monument belongs to our Wewa, and to about A.D. 500.

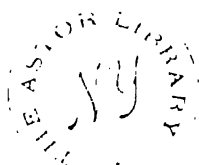
20. I notice here, for the sake of comparison with the names above,

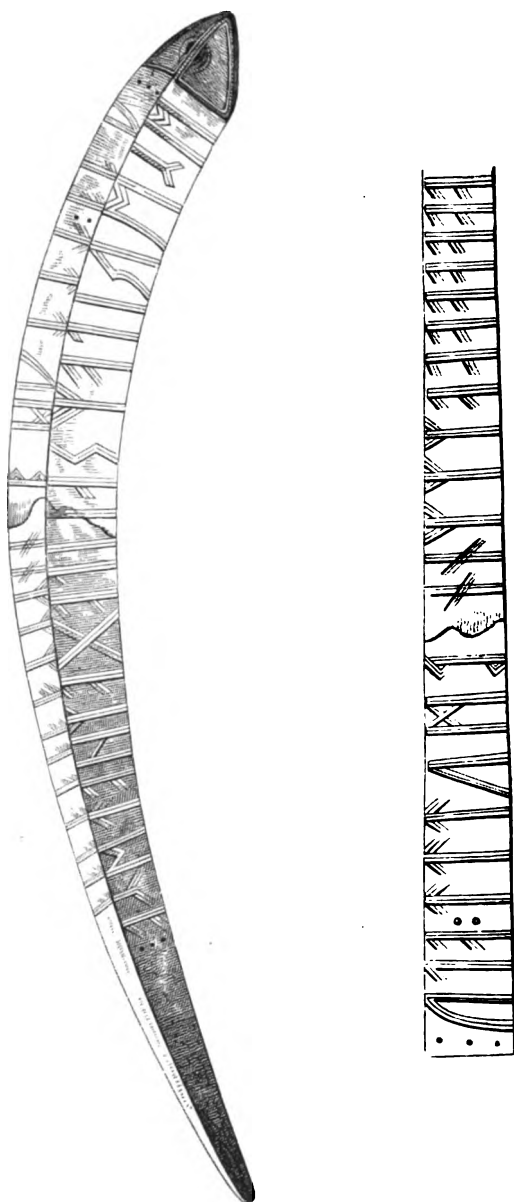
Y A D R > A 9 N

HWYCODUA

on a stone at Vanga, W. Gotland, Sweden. Like them, I regard it as a feminine name.

21. The Tun inscriptions are written *boustrophedon*. The following, on a stone pillar at Gudsberg, Wermland, Sweden, begins in the middle of the upper (right-hand as the pillar stands) line, proceeds to the left (upwards), and returns in the second line to the right (downwards). A second clause then begins in the middle of the first line, proceeds to the right (downwards), and returns in the second line. This arrangement is extraordinary, but the direction of the runes shews that it is indeed so. It is—





LINDHOLM AMULET. (St. p. 219).

ITRTITHMYMRITFATRNTHYPP  
HINBFTNITM:FRFBFTIRJ

HAIT S(ATIAN LI)UBAA HITE HARABANAA EC ERILAA  
RUNOA WARIT.

As the top of the stone is broken off, I am obliged to supply conjecturally what is wanting; but *satian* is no improbable completion of s—, and *Liubaa* is the simplest name I know to complete — *ubaa*. The meaning of *hait* is clear, and I should have expected *hakait*; *hite* is the demonstrative which I have supplied on 19. I translate

“Liubaa commanded to set this for Harabanaa. I, Erilaa, wrote the runes.”

The writer first records the order to place the stone, and then in the opposite direction his own writing of the inscription, taking care to turn this part at *a* in *warit* so as just to meet the other.

22. We have another memorial of this scribe on an amulet of bone, in the form of an eel, found near Lindholm, Skåne, Sweden.

EC ERILAA SNILIGAA HAT EC A, eight repetitions of I. 4, three of II. 7, two of II. 2, then SBMUTTT : ALU. (Pl. 10.)

“I, Erilaa, quickgoer called am I ever.” What else the writer intended to convey, under the initials of twenty words, is a secret for ever.

23. On a stone pillar at Orstad, Stavanger, Norway,

HINXFY  
2FRFIA

HILIGAA SAR ALU,

in two lines, and, at some distance lower,

Y RFPH FRF

ARAWHARA.

*Hiligaa* must be a man's name, perhaps derived from some peculiarity of gait—"heel-goer"; *Arawhara* must be another, in the dative. The latter resembles in significance our *Æschere* and *Sceafthere*, and in form *Ariogais*, *Ariomir*, etc., *Sar alu* must be a verb and noun, corresponding to the usual *warait runoa*. Now by the side of the verb *sceren scár*, to "cut," *Laya-mon* has *seren sar* with the same meaning, or nearly the same, (and hence our word "sore"). *Alu* is the word which occurs in the composition of Jordani's *alioruna*, Mod. Germ. *alraun*. It must mean letters or staves, and its combination with *rún*, in *alrún*, is parallel to such compositions as *rúnstafas*, *writrunen*, etc.; and the transition of *becun* and other kindred words from one meaning to another, explains the derived signification of the O.E. *hæl*, an "omen." The meaning of the whole will be, "*Hiligaa* cut letters for *Arawharia*." On later Scandinavian monuments we have the same word in the phrase *risti el*.

24. On a stone pillar at Bö, Stavanger, Norway, we have

HNARDAS HLAIWA

HNARDAS HLAIWA,

valuable as giving the genitive of the strong declension in *as*, and *hlaiwa* = Goth. *hlaiw*, O.E. *hléw*, *hláw*, O.S. *hléo*, a "barrow," a neuter noun in *a*. The fourth letter of the name looks more like *R* than *B* in Professor Stephens's engraving; the next is certainly *D*. "*Hnardia*'s barrow."

25. On a stone pillar at Tanum, Bohuslan, Sweden,



{79Y7+1717H 77~1977d

DRAWINGAN HAIT INAA WAS.

*Inaa* is a personal name, equivalent to our *Ine*. *Thrawingan* is the dative plural. *Hait*, O.E. *hát*, is used in the sense of "hostile," as in *Beowulf*.

1. 4581 "hát and hreohmod." "hostile and fierceminded."
1. 5375 "hát and heathogrim." "hostile and war-grim."

So I read this inscription, "*Inaa* was hostile to the *Thrawings*," and regard it as a memorial of some bloody feud.

26. On a stone pillar at Reistad, Lister, Norway,

INDIXXY  
KPF, RPY: NXXBR  
PRF/TF

IUDINGAA EC WAS RAA : UNNBO WRAITA.

This monument appears to have suffered injuries which have partly effaced some of the runes. The first stroke and top of the E seem to be wanting; but we can read IC if we cannot EC. The R and A of RAA are evident. This may be a personal name. I cannot help comparing Horstead, the burial place of Horsa, in Kent, with this Reistad, the burial place of Raa. I translate, "I was Raa of the Juthingas"! "Unnbo wrote." The second clause is a parallel to that on 21.

As parallel instances of inscriptions in which the person commemorated is represented speaking, I may cite,—

SI QIS DIGNATUR RESCIRE MEO NOMEN RU-U-MA DICOR—  
VI VIXI ANNIS IIII ET ME XI SOCIATA M.S. (*Le Blant*, 236.)

PĀOR EGO ILPERICUS NON AUFERANTUR OSSA MEA (*Ibid.* 142.)

The Juthings, of course, occupied Jutland at the time when we may suppose this pillar was set up; and the home of Raa was there. This perhaps was the reason why Unnbo, who wrote his epitaph, was careful to specify his national name. Reistad is near the south coast of Norway, opposite to Jutland.

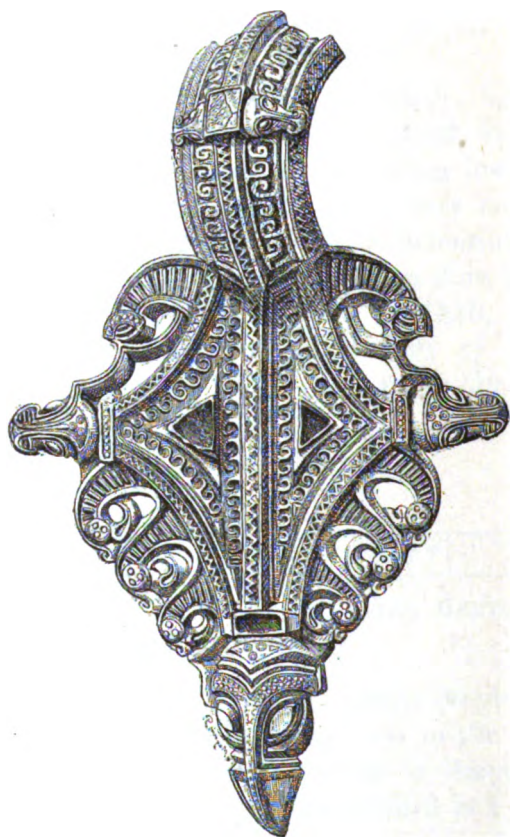
27. A slab of sandstone, at Sigdale, Aggershuus, Norway, 5 ft. 6 in. long, 2 ft. 3 in. broad, 9½ in. thick, presents on one of its edges the following inscription in characters about 1 inch high. It is very much worn, but fortunately we have copies, conscientiously made when it was in much better condition than at present. Of these Mr. Haslef's copy, made in 1810, seems the best; and I shall avail myself chiefly of its aid in supplying the defects in the copy made for Professor Stephens.



MIRILAA DROAA AC ROAEA OUTE DATAA HAUTO LALAAND  
ARMÐA.

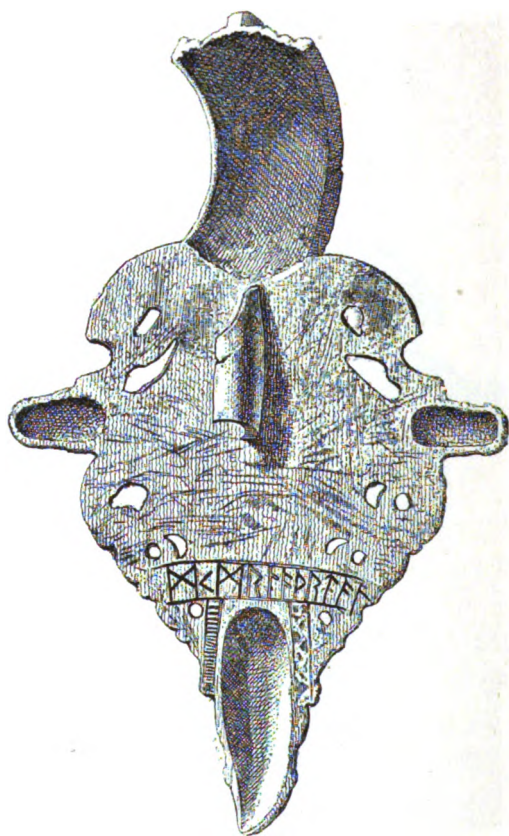
The twenty-seventh is L in Professor Stephens's copy, A in all the rest; the thirty-first is U in the two oldest copies, in the third its second stroke is disappearing, in the fourth it has gone; the thirty-third is A in the two oldest, the fourth shews clear traces of o; for the rest, Haslef's is the only complete copy, and it is not contradicted by the others except in the last character, where Nicolaysen gives N, Stephens L. The nature of this inscription, written in characters so small, and on the very edge of the stone,—so different from those we have discussed,—prepares us to expect something other





ETELHEM BROOCH.





(Stephens, p. 182).

than a sepulchral memorial. If my reading be right, it is a charm, or imprecation.

*Mirilaa* is a Gothic proper name, occurring, under the form *Merila*, in the subscription of the Naples MS. ; and *Droaa* and *Roaea* seem also to be proper names. The verb comes further on, *lalaand* (perhaps *laliand* or *lalland*), in the Gothic form of the ind. pres. 3 plural ; a verb which has no representative in the Gothic, nor in O.E., but which may well connect the Mod. Germ. *lallen*, Dan. *lalle*, on the one hand, and the Greek *λαλεῖν* on the other. *Oute* I take to be an adverb, Goth. *uta* ; *thataa* the demonstrative pronoun in the neuter ; *hawto* a "charm," O.E. *hwatu*. *Armtha* (or *ymtha*), "misery," "calamity," "affliction," is the ill-omened word which is the object of the charm.

"*Mirilaa*, *Droaa*, and *Roaea* speak out that charm. *Armtha*."

28. A brooch found at Etelhem, in the Isle of Gotland, inscribed MC MRLA WRTA (Pl. 11, 12), seems to give us the same name as the last, but in a different dialect ; for the vowels must be supplied, *Mec Mirila woraila*, "Mirilaa cut" (or "chased") "me." *Wraita* seems more probable than *worhta*, which would necessitate the supplying a consonant as well.

29. A stone pillar at Möjebro, Hageby, Sweden, bears the device of a warrior on horseback, brandishing a sword. Above his head, in two lines is the inscription, ANAHAPPA ANGINIA FRAWARADAA. Of this monument we have two copies, one made for Göransson, about 150 years ago, the other for Professor Stephens. On comparing the two, we cannot but remark the accuracy of Göransson's delineation of the warrior and his horse, and this must inspire confidence in his delineation of the runes also, which have suffered very much since his copy was made, the monument having been used as a stepping-stone before a well, from 1730 to 1861.



The eighth rune, with Göransson, I read *p*; in Stephens's copy, the strokes are separated so as to be *is*, and this copy shews clearly that the following runes, now much worn, were as in the older one.

In *anahahapa*, I see the Gothic preposition, *ana*, "up," combined with the reduplicated præterite of a verb, *hapan* (=Mod. Swed. *hopa*). The eleventh rune, being written quite small, like *ing*, I take to be a variety of that character, rather than of *gifu*; and so *Anginia* will be a proper noun, usually found in composition with other elements, as in *Angengeat*. *Fra* seems to be a preposition, = *fora*, Lat. *pro*; and *waradaa* is dative sing. of a word corresponding to the Gothic *wardja*.

"Anginia raised up (this) for (the) warder."



I prefer this explanation of this inscription, to taking *Waradaa* or *Frawaradaa* as a personal noun. It implies that the stone was raised to mark the place where a warder watched the frontier, on the shore of the estuary which runs up near Upsala, and seems exactly to explain the device beneath it, of which the lines in *Beowulf*, which describe the Scyldings' warder at his post on the shore of Hrothgar's kingdom, offer a very apt illustration.

l. 463 "Thá of wealle geseah  
weard Scyldinga  
se the holm-clifu  
healdan scolde."

l. 473 "Gewát him thá tó  
waro the  
wige rídan  
thegn Hróthgáres."

l. 578 "Weard mathelode  
thær on wige sat."

"When from the wall saw  
the Scyldings' warder  
who the sea cliffs  
should hold."

"Betook him then to the  
shore  
riding on his horse  
Hrothgar's thegn."

"The warder spake  
where on his horse he sat."



30. A stone pillar at Krogstad, Upland, Sweden. bears a rude figure with arms uplifted, and the legend, MWSIUIAI on one side and SLAI NAA on the other. The

seventh rune is clearly a variety of II. 4., not of III. 6. The first inscription can only be the dative case of a feminine name of the strong declension, corresponding to the Gothic *airtha*, *airthai*. In explaining the second, I must call attention to the fact, that the irregularity observable in all the Indo-European languages in the declension of the pronoun, is attributable to the circumstance that there was originally for each a plurality of forms regularly declined; but that, at the time of the earliest written literature, some of the cases of each had fallen into disuse, and thus in each language or dialect, some of the cases are taken from one form, some from the other. Thus of the third personal pronoun there were two forms, *he* and *se*, and of the demonstrative *the* and *se*, traces of each of which we observe in the declension of every Teutonic dialect, some having preserved what others have lost. The Gothic has preserved the feminine personal *si*, and so has our modern English, and the O. S., O. and N. H. G.; but all the dialects form the oblique cases from the root of the other form, which the O.E. alone retained in the nominative. The Gothic had *sô*-(for *sio*), and our O.E. *seo*, for the feminine demonstrative; whilst the O.S. had *thiu*, O. H. G. *diu*, N. H. G. *die*, Mod. E. *the*; and most of the oblique cases of the personal, and all of the demonstrative, are derived from the latter form. According to the analogy of the noun *giba*, and the adjective *blinda*, *sio* would make the dative *siai*, and this I believe is the form which we have on this Krogstad monument. *Naa*, in the dative, represents the Gothic *nawa* (from nom. *naus*), but is nearer to what we may believe would be the dative of O.E. *na*, or *ne*, a "dead body." It is not necessary to take these inscriptions together, as they are on opposite sides of the stone, but whether we do so or not is immaterial.

"For Musiuiä."

"For the corpse."

The rudely cut figure on the stone has been taken for that of man ; but if it were so intended, surely there would be some distinctive mark, such as sword or spear. We do not know what was the costume of the female sex at the time to which these monuments belong ; but the men on the bracteates seem to have trousers only, not tunics.

31. An inscription on a stone at Skaane, Sodermanland, Sweden, presents difficulties, arising from the oc-

HFRISF\*ΓMNXFY7

currence of two runes, the seventh and the fourteenth, which have no place in the Wadstena futhorc, and have not occurred in any inscription of the class we are considering. The former is an A in some Bleking inscriptions ; in the Norse futhorc it is H ; in Germany and on the Dover tombstone it is G. The latter resembles the O.E. copulative, the phonetic value of which, as a member of the futhorc, must have been ND, (as that of *ing* is NG). If we assign to the fifth rune the value NG, as on the Tun monument, to the seventh A, and to the fourteenth ND, we shall have

HARINGAA LERGAAND.

Now we have a curious word *forthrough*, (pron. *fordruf*), i. e. *fare through* or *through fare*, and, I think, *lergaand* is an exact parallel to this ; for I connect *ler* with the O.E. *leóran*, to “ go forth,” “ pass over,” and *gaand* with the O.E. *geond*, “ over,” “ through,” “ yond ;” and understand this inscription to mean “ the go forth,” or “ pass over,” of the Harings.” Thus we shall have a monument of the same class as 29, (and another which Professor Stephens rightly regards as marking an “ instead”), not a memorial of the departed, but as it were a landmark. The Norse inscription which surrounds this is SCANMALS AUC OLAUF ÐAU LETU CIARA MERCI ÐAUSN

(? DAUSI) EFTIR SUAIN FAÐUR SIN GUÐ HIALBI SALU HANS,  
 "Scanmals and Olauf they let make these marks after  
 Swain their father, God help his soul!"

32. A plane, found in Vi moss, Sealand, Denmark,  
 bears inscriptions, possibly the work of successive  
 owners.

a. 

GISLÍOA WILIA AHLAORB.

Professor Stephens reads the fourth rune L; but it looks like A in his engraving; the fourteenth and fifteenth appear connected so as to be HL. *Gislíoa* (or *Gisaíoa*) is a feminine name, in a form of which we have had examples, and *wilia* is an epithet, the Gothic feminine adjective *wilja*, "kind." *La-orb* is "scythe-shaft," as Professor Stephens reads it; and, doubtless, he is right in suggesting *locer*, "plane" (whatever its precise form might be), as the word which would complete this line. "Gislíoa Wilia owns (this) scythe-shaft plane."

b. 

TALIA,

a man's name, followed by a character which seems to be rather an arbitrary mark than the rune III. 8.

c. 

TIDAS HLEUNG ðE RIIGU.

This is the clearest of the three. Comparing *Riigu* with our O.E. *rih*, I take the meaning to be "Tithas Hleung" (son of Hlewa), "the hairy." The writer of this inscription evidently spoke a dialect different from that which characterizes most of the preceding, and I would remark the same with regard to the following:—

33. On the inside of a shield-boss, from Thorsbjerg moss,

XXIX

AISG AH, "Aisg owns."

This name occurs, more than a century later than the date of Thorsbjerg deposit, in the Kentish line of the descendants of Woden. As exceptional also I regard the following:—

34. On a bracteate found at Tjörkö, near Karlskrona, Sweden, CUNIMUDI . . . WURTE RUNOA ANWALHA CURNE HELDAA (Pl. 8, fig. 8). The type, above referred to as the most common one, is more degraded than usual, and we may believe that the artist was one of inferior ability. This may account for one certain blunder, the two LL in the fourth word, whereof I confidently read the former A; perhaps, also, for what seem to be dialectic variations in the two first words. *Cunimudiu*, (I should have expected *-ia*), is a name corresponding to our *Cynimod*, (or better, if we suppose *n* omitted, to *Cynimund*); *wurte* for *wrait* or *worhto*, "wrote" or "wrought;" *Anwalha*, a name of the same class as our *Cænwealh*, in the dative; *curne* corresponding to our *corene*, "chosen," from *ceosan* (the Gothic of Wulfila gives the participle of *kiusan*, *kusans*); *heldaa*, genitive plural. "Cunimudiu wrote runes for Anwalhia, chosen of heroes."

These are all the monuments from which we can gain any information as to the language and grammar of the people to whom they belong. A few bracteates present single words, capable of being pronounced, as *e.gr.*

FUWU, HAGALU, EHWU, LAOCU,

perhaps the names of runes; (as if there had been a complete set corresponding to the whole futhorc);

OTA and SCAA (Pl. 8, fig. 7).

Of this last there are many examples, exhibiting successive blunderings and imitations of blunderings, until all trace of the original word is lost; indeed of most of the bracteates I think they are, like the imitations of Roman coins by the Barbarians, bad copies of types which were originally fair representations of the objects the artists intended to portray, and which presented intelligible legends. These words may be, and I think are, personal names. Before I pass on, I would wish to notice briefly two monuments:—

a. A stone at West Tanem, Trondjem, Norway, inscribed MANISLAU.

b. An ornament found at Faxö, Sealand, Denmark, consisting of a hollow golden cylinder, to which are attached three double (back to back) bracteates, all from the same die. The device, which is in a style of art very different from that of any of those I have noticed, in fact, much ruder, seems to be an imitation of a Roman coin, and presents a bust looking to the left, and before it a small figure, also to the left, holding a branch. I take the first rune to be P, and read POSLAU. Both these words, I believe, are Slavonic names.

I have endeavoured to bestow on the elucidation of these inscriptions all the care which a subject of so great importance demands, and I recognize in them the remains of a language more nearly related to the Gothic of Wulfila than to any other dialect of Teutonic speech; and this all the more clearly in those which are longest and afford the best opportunities for comparison. I do not think that they all belong to one people; on the contrary, I think the masculine names in *-ia* (*Saligastia*, etc.), in *-aa* (*Erilaa*, etc.), and the feminine names in *-oa*, *-ua* (*Hwycothua*, etc.), constitute one class; and the masculine names ending in a consonant (*Aisg*, etc.), or in *-a* (*Waiga*), with such words as *Ehwu*, *Hagalu*, and the feminine names in *-o* (*Lethro*, etc.), another;

the inscriptions which contain the former are the especial subject of these remarks. In some forms I think I can trace features of resemblance to the Old Slavonic,<sup>1</sup> another member of the Indo-European family; but these can indicate nothing more than that the Gothic race who spoke this language were, in their ancient home, neighbours of the Slaves. I say in their ancient home, for recent discoveries in the mosses of S. Jutland and Fyen clearly establish this fact, that the people who used these runes were invaders of Scandinavia about the commencement of the fourth century of our era.

The principal mosses which have been explored are:—

1. Thorsbjerg in Slesvig, three miles north of the river Slie, 400 yards from a brook which flows into this river, and, perhaps, was navigable in ancient times.

2. Nydam, about three-quarters of a mile from the Alsund, on what was certainly an arm of the sea.

3. Vi, one and a half miles from a brook which flows into the frith of Odinsö.

4. Kragehul, near Flemlose, four miles from the Little Belt. These, and all the other mosses which have been found to contain deposits of weapons, etc., of the early iron age, lie along the east coast of N. and S. Jutland, around the coast of Fyen, and in the isle of Bornholm.

In the Thorsbjerg moss were found:—

<sup>1</sup> I would compare, for instance, masculines in *-ia* to Old Slav. in *y* (pronounced as *yǝ*). Thus *gastia*=Goth. *gasts*, O. Sl. *gosty*. In these inscriptions these masculines seem to form their dative in *-a*, the O. Sl. in *-i*. We have a feminine acc. plur. in *-aa*, *-oa*. What the nom. sing. was we do not know, but its O.E. correspondent ended in a consonant, *run*; feminines of this class in O. Sl. end in *-ya* in nom. sing. and nom. acc. plur.

The neuter nom. *hlaiwa*, acc. *horna* and *staina* represent Goth. and O.E., neuters ending in a consonant. Neuters of this class in O. Sl. end in *-o*, nom. acc. sing., and *-a* nom. acc. plur.

A shirt, two pairs of trousers with stockings, two cloaks, and several fragments of woollen cloth.

A pair of sandals of leather.

Two circular and about sixty bowed brooches; the latter devised apparently from Roman forms.

Many buttons and beads.

Two spiral finger rings, several gold rings linked in 2 and 3, one gold armlet cut into pieces, and many fragments of gold ornaments.

A bronze, and some silver, pendants, shaped like buckets.

A circular pendant of gold, and a drop ornament, (of a type frequently found in Mecklenburg).

Tweezers of bronze or silver, and earpicks, on rings.

Thirty-seven silver denarii, ranging from Nero to Septimius Severus.

A die of amber, with rounded edges.

Some touchstones.

A bronze Roman helmet and a serpent, probably a crest.

A silver mask and crown, certainly Barbaric.

A thick bronze plate, plated with silver and gold, probably the front of a helmet of Barbaric work.

About six coats of ring mail, folded up.

Four pairs of buckles, apparently belonging to the last.

Two breastplates of Romanized work, with Barbaric additions and repairs.

Many hundred boards of shields, in bundles, (sometimes transfixed by javelins), and fragments of bronze or silver rims.

Six bosses of bronze, Roman type, whereof one inscribed.

Six bosses of iron, Barbaric, with openings in the top for the reception of a metal spike; one inscribed with runes, (noticed above); on another ornaments, representing animals, cut out of gold plate and soldered on, (somewhat like the Brighthampton sword sheath).

A boss of wood, and another of wicker-work.

A few fragments of iron blades, (iron mostly decomposed).

Several hilts of swords with spherical pommels and hemispherical guards.

One hilt of the Kentish type, and parts of another marked with a fylfot, and the rune *othil*, (see Pl. 20).

Two sheaths, (one cut in two), which had contained Roman or Romanized swords.



Many others with elegant fittings and chapes, one bearing Runic inscriptions, (noticed above).

Shafts of spears, handles of awls.

Three bows and bundles of arrows.

Several whetstones.

A complete headstall for a horse, and fragments of others.

A bit, several bridles, a driving rein, three pairs of snaffle-rings, several nose-pieces and studs for harness, about two hundred fringe-like ornaments for edges of straps, and a spur.

A wheel, and other remains of waggons.

Several clubs, tethering poles, and stretchers of wood.

Cooking and other vessels of clay and wood.

Knives and spoons.

Harrows and rakes of wood.

The Nydam moss deposit, besides that it presented remarkable features of contrast with that at Thorsbjerg, was especially valuable on account of the excellent preservation of the iron implements, of which scarcely any remains were found at Thorsbjerg. It contained,—

Three boats, (of which one was cut to pieces), a rudder, oars, poles, baling-scoop, and other furniture.

Nine brooches, of a larger and heavier class than those at Thorsbjerg.

Two silver clasps, one set with blue glass.

Buttons and beads, of agate, glass, or porcelain.

Little bronze and silver buckets, and a basket, (pendent ornaments).

Combs of bone.

Tweezers and ear-picks on rings, in one instance accompanied by a little two-barrelled silver box.

Thirty-four denarii, ranging from Vitellius to Macrinus.

Doubtful fragments of helmets.

More than sixty bosses of iron, one overlaid with a plate of silver and then a plate of gold, and a few of bronze.

Bundles of shield boards.

More than a hundred swords, 30 to 40 inches long, of which ninety were richly damascened, and some stamped with makers' names, COCILLVS, RICVS, RICCM (anu), VMORCD.

Hilts, most frequently of the Kentish type.

Chapes of scabbards, some like those at Thorsbjerg, others of the same character as our own cemeteries have produced.

Belts and shoulder-straps, with metal fittings.

Nearly six hundred complete spears, averaging 9 feet in length, of different types, broad and narrow, and some of the angon form.

Forty bows, (fifteen in one bundle), one hundred and seventy arrows in bundles, whereof many marked with runes, a quiver of wood, and another of bronze.<sup>1</sup>

Whetstones.

A few remains of a head-stall, six iron bits with snaffles, whereof three were in the mouths of horses, several fringe ornaments, and iron spikes (probably of spurs).

Many broken household vessels of clay and wood, urns sunk by means of stones, some lathe-turned, others hand-made, of types resembling those from Stade.

Wooden boxes.

Knives and spoons.

Axes and adzes, clubs, and scythe blade.

Part of a net.

Skulls and other bones of horses, and a skull with other bones of a small ox.

The Vi moss deposit contained,—

A canoe, 10 feet long, hollowed out of oak.

An eagle's head, crest of a helmet, (Roman).

Portions of two coats of mail.

Brooches like those at Thorsbjerg, and a finger ring.

Buttons and beads of glass, amber, and porcelain.

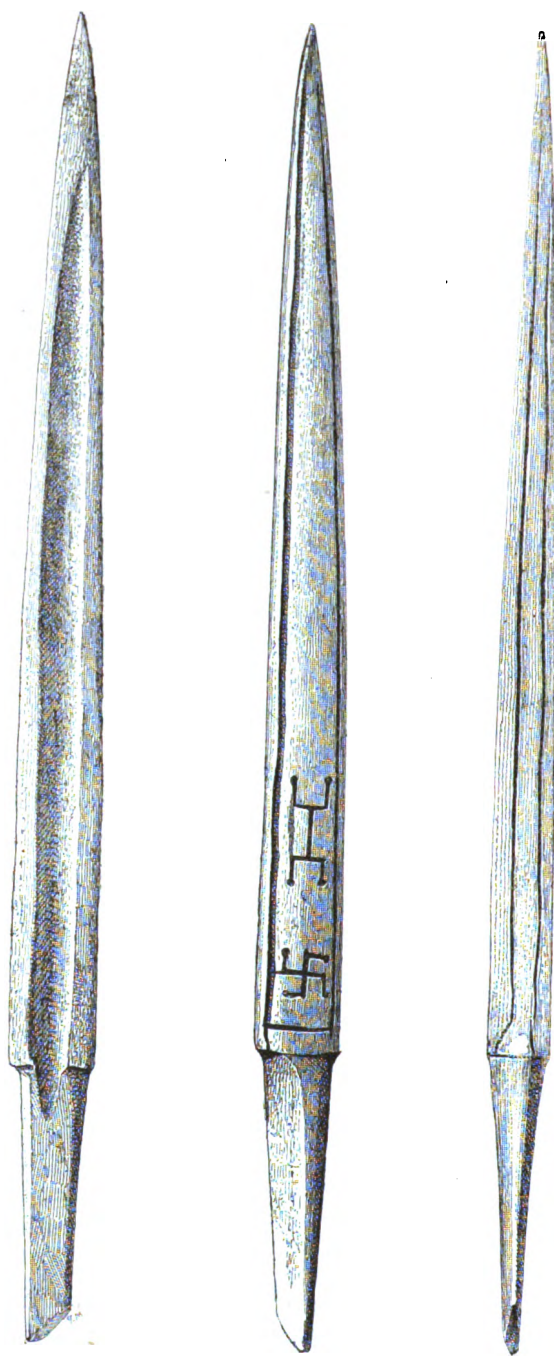
Pierced touchstones, pieces of amber, a key, and scales.

Fifty bone combs, whereof one has a Runic inscription, (noticed above).

Fragments of draught-boards, and a hundred draughtmen of bone and amber.

<sup>1</sup> Quivers have not been often noticed in our English graves. Mr. Engelhardt has pointed out one or two from the Little Wilbraham cemetery, in Mr. Neville's 'Saxon Obsequies,' and I take this opportunity of calling attention to another (apparently of Christian times), found at Strood, and figured in the 'Collectanea Antiqua,' vol. ii. pl. xxxvi.





VI ARROW-HEAD. (St. p. 863).

Six dice, cubical or oblong-quadrangular.

A coin of Faustina Junior.

Many boards of shields, with handles of wood covered with iron, and rims of bronze, iron, or silver.

A boss of bronze, a hundred of iron, four of wood ; some of types quite new.

Thirty iron swords, whereof two damascened, and one stamped with the maker's name, TASVIT.

Fragments of ivory sword handles like those at Thorsbjerg.

Some complete scabbards, about two hundred mountings, on one of which a Runic inscription, and one hundred and fifty chapes, like those at Thorsbjerg, most in bronze, fifteen in ivory, a few in bone.

Two belts, and fifty large belt buttons.

Fifteen hundred iron spearheads, on many whereof ornaments of silver and gold, with shafts, (average length 10 feet 4 inches).

Several bows and arrows, (whereof one, formed of bone, has mysterious marks like the Müncheberg spear, Pl. 13), and a quiver.

Whetstones.

Bridle, bits, and pendants, as at Thorsbjerg.

A wooden trough, vessels of burnt clay and wood, the latter elaborately turned, with zoomorphic handles.

A wooden spoon with magnificent handle.

A hundred iron knives with handles of wood or bone.

Handles of awls.

Forty iron axes, and handles of celts, different from those at Nydam.

Files, hammers, planes, one with Runic inscriptions, (noticed above), gimlets, tongs, chisels, of iron, with wooden handles.

A small iron anvil.

Moulds for buttons.

Two chopping-blocks of oak.

Many bones of animals, especially horses.

The Kragehul moss has yielded, besides objects similar to the above, part of a knife handle, inscribed on each side with Runes, — UMA BERA and — AAU, a lid of a box with a long inscription, and an eel-like amulet like that noticed above. The two last are unfortunately lost.

Now these moss deposits present several remarkable characteristics.

1. The presence of Roman coins. Mr. Engelhardt observes that, allowing time for the transport of these coins from southern countries, the deposits at Thorsbjerg and Nydam cannot have been made earlier than the middle of the third century of our era. Mr. Worsaae thinks that they may have been made about A.D. 300; but he has noticed the fact, that Roman coins of the West have scarcely ever been found in Scandinavia of later date than A.D. 219; and he connects it with another, viz. that the Romans began to abandon their German and Pannonian provinces about A.D. 230; whence he infers that the northward flow of Roman coins ceased about that time. So far, therefore, as the evidence of the coins is concerned, these deposits may have been made even later than A.D. 300.

2. In none of the mosses have any objects been found distinctly connected with female dress, or female occupations, except the beads and a few pendants, and a plane bearing a female name. Almost every thing belonged to men and warriors.

3. Although human bones have been found occasionally in these deposits, they have never been found under such circumstances as that they could be regarded as having formed part of the deposits.

4. It is evident that these objects belonged to different races; and that the race of which most relics were found at Thorsbjerg and Vi, was in a minority at Nydam.

5. It is evident, from the state of the horses' bones at Nydam, that they had been exposed to a shower of arrows. The shoulder bone of one was pierced by a quadrangular, and one of the ribs by a triangular, iron point, which were still in the wounds when they were taken out of the moss. One skull had ten sword cuts,

and another six, which must have been inflicted as they lay on the ground. They had also been exposed to the ravening of wolves or dogs, but not for a long time, before they were submerged.

6. Every thing had been purposely sunk in the water, and in a certain method and order. Piles of shieldboards were found lying one above another, sometimes pierced through by javelins to keep them together; bundles of bows and arrows; objects of gold all together; spear-heads and other weapons wrapped up in coats of mail. Most of the objects too had been purposely rendered useless before they were sunk. One of the boats had been cut to pieces, another sunk by holes cut in its planks, under watermark. Bosses of shields, besides that they had been pierced by spears and arrows, were bent and crumpled. Swords and spears were bent and twisted, a scabbard cut in two, the fittings of others, and plates of belts and straps torn off, and bridles of solid metal rings cut and otherwise injured.

How are all these facts to be accounted for?

I once entertained an erroneous opinion on this subject. I thought that each of these deposits was evidence of a system of water-burial, of which that of Alaric was an example. Difficulties, however, suggested themselves, one after another, insuperable in their accumulated force. The horses could not have been slain to accompany their master. They had been engaged and wounded in battle, they had been treated with gratuitous violence as they lay on the field, and left for some time to the beasts of prey. Setting aside the weapons and ornaments of Roman work, (which might have been stolen and used by Barbarians,) there seemed to be two distinct classes, at least, of weapons, of which one prevailed at Thorsbjerg, the other at Nydam; and I could not regard the rune-bearing boss at Thorsbjerg as having

belonged to the same people as the rune-bearing chape ; it seemed evident that two races had been present. The facts, that out of the whole mass of shield-boards at Thorshjerg, only three could be completed ; and that almost every thing had been wantonly destroyed, were other difficulties. It was then with great delight that I hailed the discovery, by M. Beauvois, of the following passage from Orosius, relating the sequel of the victory gained by the Cimbri over the Romans at Orange, B.C. 111.

“*Hostes, binis castris atque ingenti præda potiti, novâ quâdam et insolitâ exsecratione cuncta quæ ceperant pessumdederunt. Vestis discissa et projecta est ; aurum argentumque in flumen abjectum, lorica virorum concisa, phaleræ equorum disperditæ ; equi ipsi gurgitibus immersi ; homines laqueis collo inditis ex arboribus suspensi sunt ; ita ut nihil prædæ victor, nihil misericordiæ victus agnosceret.*” (Orosius, v. 16.)

Every thing is here accounted for. The inhabitants of the Cimbrica Chersonesus, in the fourth century of our era, did the very same thing as the Cimbri four centuries earlier. The deposits in the mosses, formerly lakes, of the east of Jutland, Fyen, Sealand, and Bornholm, are the spoils of victories gained over invaders who came, either overland through Holstein, or by sea from the southern coasts of the Baltic, devoted, like the spoils of the Romans at Orange, to anathema of oblivion. It is clear that these invasions of Jutland and the Isles were repeated and persevering, (so many are the moss deposits), like the invasions of England by the Vikings of a later age ; and it is certain that these invasions, repelled for a time, were eventually successful, and that the invaders established themselves in Norway and Sweden, where we have seen that the evidences of their presence, no longer as an invading, but as a settled, race, are abundant. Furthermore, it is certain that one of these invading races, either through commerce or



war, had been in contact with Roman civilization, and that they spoke a Gothic dialect.

Now, who were the people who were invaders of Scandinavia in the third century ending, and the fourth commencing, and eventually conquerors? I answer, with the fullest conviction, they were the people of Woden. These moss deposits, and the monuments I have discussed above, have most completely established the theory, which I have advanced on the authority of the genealogical records of Goths, Longobards, and Anglo-Saxons, that this great conqueror, the founder of all the royal dynasties of the North, flourished in the first half of the fourth century. The deposits bear witness to a series of invasions in progress about B.C. 300, and the monuments show that these had been eventually crowned by conquest.

That Woden was a Goth is shown by his descent from Geát, or Gawt, the ancestor of all the Gothic kings; his era being determined by computation of the degrees of descent from this, his ancestor, downwards and from his descendants, the conquerors of Kent, upwards to himself, and confirmed by a Longobard tradition. The victories of Constantine over the Goths in A.D. 323, and the Gothic conquest of Sarmatia between that date and A.D. 331, are facts which exactly agree with the first part of his story; whilst the abundance of Gothic monuments in Sweden and in Norway, compared with the absence of any but movable relics of the Gothic civilization from Denmark, remarkably illustrates the statement that Sweden and Norway were the term of his victorious career, and therefore the lands in which his followers settled. It may be that the many chieftains who abandoned their dominions in consequence of the success of the Roman arms, were Woden's precursors, the unsuccessful invaders of Denmark, of whose defeats the mosses of

Thorsbjerg, Nydam, etc., are monuments. To me it seems very probable that the interments discovered at Müncheberg were those of warriors, who died or were slain during the course of these movements.



It is certain, then, that this futhorc was in use amongst the Goths before their conversion to Christianity. The relics from Müncheberg, Thorsbjerg, and Vi, are the earliest examples of it known as yet; the

Petrossa ring, though of somewhat later date, its only monument in its own land. The single-barred *Haga*, is one of its characteristics, and this appears on one of the early monuments found near Sandwich, and now in the Canterbury Museum. To the vowels of this inscription I give the same value as in the above, and I read it RAHABUL, a personal name of peculiar form, but confirmed as to both its elements by two others, both Kentish, *Rahulf* and *Theabul*, witnesses to early charters. The inscriptions on the other are now illegible.

It is no less certain, though the monuments be few, that other nations of the Teutonic race in continental Europe had each their own futhorc. Written in the very heart of Germany, most probably in the monastery of Fulda, in Hesse, in the eighth or ninth century, in a dialect which may be considered Frankish, but with many features of resemblance to the Old High German, the fragment of Hildebrand's lay contains in its fifty-three lines forty-one recurrences of the rune *Wen*, (see some of its varieties in Pl. 1, *p.*), five of the Latin *uu* instead of it, and one of *u*, (which also is once used for *f*); and the Weissenbrun hymn, in its twenty-one short lines, four times expresses the syllable *ga* by the first rune of the Dover inscription. The force of these facts cannot be denied. These runes are relics of a system which preceded the abecedarium, in use amongst the tribes who occupied Hesse and Franconia in the eighth century.

Exactly parallel, too, to the occasional occurrence of runes in the legends on the pennies of the Mercian Offa and the stycas of Northumbrian kings, is their occurrence on the Merovingian trientes. The rune I. 3 is frequent; I. 7 occurs on a coin of *Barmione* as the initial of the moneyer's name, *Gisobande*; II. 8 in the name *Vidivadus*; III. 1 in *Bert*, on a coin of Orleans and the moneyer *Rosolus* writes his name sometimes

with a Roman. L, sometimes with the Runic III. 5, and sometimes with a character of a form to be noticed in the sequel.

There is also another very important fact bearing on this subject, which must not be passed over. Gregory of Tours says of Chilperic, King of the Franks of Soissons, A.D. 561 to 584, "he added also letters to our letters, that is, *ω* as the Greeks have it, *æ*, *the*, *uui*, of which we have underwritten the forms,

ω † Z ▷,

and sent letters to all the cities of his kingdom that boys should be thus taught, and that books written in old times should be erased with pumice, and rewritten."

By "our letters" Gregory certainly means those of the abecedarium, and the letters added thereto by Chilperic were as certainly intended to convey Teutonic sounds, for which the abecedarium had no adequate expression. Of these sounds the futhorc does supply representatives, and we may be assured that Chilperic's letters resembled their correspondents in the old futhorc of his people, just as the characters which express the sounds *w* and *th*, added to the abecedarium in England, resemble the old runes *wen* and *thorn*.

The new characters are given with much variety in different MSS., but we may believe that the Cambrai MS., which is of the middle of the seventh century, gives them (Pl. 1, *q*) most nearly as Gregory himself wrote them; and we may recognize in the first, as he tells us, the Greek *omega* intended to supply the place of the rune *othil*; in the second we have II. 7 of the futhorc, which had certainly an *a* sound; the fourth is intended for the rune *wen*; the third, expressing the sound of *thorn*, is of a form difficult to be accounted for, but perhaps a long down stroke on the left-hand has been omitted, which would give nearly our English MS. form.

The fact which this passage reveals, that there existed at the time books written of old, is of great importance, for these books could not have been written in Latin. If they had, there would have been no occasion to erase the writing in them, and write them again with the addition of characters which do not belong to the Latin system. They must have been written in the language of the Franks, and in Teutonic characters; they were to be re-written in the same language, but in Roman characters, and these additional signs were to be employed for the expression of vocal sounds which the abecedarium could not supply. Had books of the period been preserved, doubtless we should have had examples in abundance of what we observe in our own MSS. and in the alphabet of Wulfila, some Theodisc characters occurring amongst Latin or Greek letters; but Chilperic's work was an unavailing attempt to arrest the progress of the Latin literature,—a surrender of the old system of writing, for the sake of preserving the purity of the language. The first part of his instructions, which related to the erasure of the old writing, may well have been complied with; but perhaps there was not sufficient interest felt to secure the transcription of the books generally into Latin characters, and so Latin literature advanced, and in the end prevailed, to the utter extinction of the primitive Frankish tongue. The old books of the Franks are lost for ever; their only memorial is in this passage of Gregory of Tours. The only relics of the futhorc in Frankish literature are those we have noticed in Hildebrand's lay and the Weissenbrunn hymn. Yet these precious monuments would of themselves have been sufficient to prove that the Franks had a futhorc before they adopted the abecedarium.

We have, indeed, a contemporary notice of the Runic as a recognized system of writing, in the works of Ve-

nantius Fortunatus, in the beginning of the seventh century. It is certainly of some Teutonic race he speaks whenever he uses the word *barbarus*, for it is always in concord with Teutonic words, such as *leudus*, a "song," *harpa*, a "harp," or when Germany is his subject. Writing, then, to his friend Flavus, complaining of his neglect, he playfully suggests a variety of expedients to take away all excuse for his not writing. If it were distasteful to him to write in Latin, he might choose the Hebrew letters, the Achæmenian signs,<sup>1</sup> the Greek language, or the Barbaric rune; and if paper were scarce, beech-bark might supply for it, or ashen tablets might be used for the rune. It is clear that the Barbaric (*i. e.* Theodisc) rune was as much a recognized system of writing as the Latin, the Hebrew, or the Persian cuneiform, at the close of the sixth century; and we are now in a position to assert that each family of

<sup>1</sup> An tibi charta parum peregrinâ merce rotatur?  
 Non amor extorquet, quod neque tempus habet?  
 Scribere quo possis discingat fascia fagum,  
 Cortice dicta legi fit mihi dulce tui.  
 An tua Romuleum fastidit lingua susurrum?  
 Quæso vel Hebraicis reddito verba notis.  
 Doctus Achæmeniis quævis præscribito signis;  
 Aut magis Argolico pange canora sopho.  
 Barbara fraxineis pingatur rhuna tabellis,  
 Quodque papyrus agit virgula plana valet.—vi. 18.

The most important thing in this passage is the notice of the "Achæmenia signa," or Persian cuneiform characters. The oldest records in these characters are of the reign of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, of the race of Achæmenes, (for the single line on the tomb of Cyrus, at Murg-haub, may well have been written after his death), and a passage in the twenty-first of the letters of Themistocles, (quoted by M. Lenormant, in the 'Revue Archéologique' for April, 1867), speaks of them as lately invented by Darius for the Persians, and distinguishes them from "the Assyrian, the old characters." Their latest appearance is in the inscriptions of Artaxerxes Mnemon; but this allusion to them, by Venantius,

the Teutonic race was in possession of its own futhorc, and that these futhorcs differed each from the other in the forms of some of their runes, as does the Gothic from the English, yet presented so strong a resemblance, as to establish the certainty that they were derived from a common original, in times of very remote antiquity. For this we have the authority of monuments,—few, indeed, but sufficient for our purpose,—discovered from time to time, in different parts of Germany, during the last thirty years.

On the reverse of a brooch found at Osthofen, in Rheinhessen, and now in the Mainz Museum, is an inscription, which I will not attempt to transliterate, until I have called my readers' attention to two inscriptions of the sixth century, one of them at Ebersheim, near Mainz, the other at Mainz:—



LINDIS FILIA VELANDU ET THVDELINDI QVI VIXIT IN  
PAKE ANS XII.

shows that they were a recognized system of writing a thousand years later still. Doubtless they continued in use down to the time of the Mahometan conquest of Persia, and the extinction of the royal line of Artaxerxes in the person of Hormisdas II., A.D. 632; and were then superseded by the Arabic letters. Of the Assyrian cuneiform there is one record, of a private character, of the reign of Demetrius, B.C. 162 to 160.

†INHVNCTITOL  
 RƎAVII SCITAV  
 DOLENDIS QVI  
 VIXIT IN PACE  
 AN NVS III †  
 FILICITER

IN HVNC TITULO REQVIISCIT AVDOLENDIS QVI + VIXIT  
 IN PACE ANNVS III + FILICITER.

In these inscriptions, (as in England, on the Alnmouth cross and Alhstan's and Æthred's rings), we recognize the lingering love of the converted Teutons for the old runes of their fathers. We observe the rune II. 4, (*iar*, the O.S. equivalent of the O.E. *gear*, justifies the value *i* here), in the name *Lindis*; the Runic *ᚱ*, (of a form which we shall have occasion to notice in the so-called Marcomannic alphabet), in the word *ans*, (for *annos*); a Runic *ƿ* in *filiciter*; a Runic *ᚱ* in *Thudelindi*; a Runic *q*, like that in a S. Gallen alphabet; and the runes *thorn* (or *dorn*) and *lagu*, each several times. The last has a peculiar form, which we observe in three other inscriptions, at Besançon (undated), S. Julien en Quint (A.D. 537), and Guillerand (A.D. 600), and on a buckle supposed to have been found in the neighbourhood of Mâcon, to which I would wish particularly to call my readers' attention, on account of the illustration it affords of the legend on one of the coins found some years ago in the churchyard of S. Martin, Canterbury. The legend on the buckle is—

DANƎE ƿPROƎ TAX  
 ABBACV PROFƎ TAX

DANYEL PROFETA X ABBACV PROFETA X;



that on the coin—



LYVPARDVS EPS;

and I think no one will dispute the correction *Lyudardus*, which will enable us to assign it to Liudhard, the chaplain of Queen Bertha, who celebrated the holy mysteries in the venerable church of S. Martin, before the coming of S. Augustine.

I have no doubt but that this coin belongs to Liudhard, the chaplain of Queen Bertha, who celebrated the holy mysteries in the venerable church of S. Martin (in the cemetery of which it was found), before the coming of S. Augustine. The substitution of P for D is so common on the Merovingian coinage that I should have no hesitation in reading *Lyudardus* on this precious monument of early Kentish history, were it not that this bishop is called *Liphardus* in Florus's additions to Ven. Bæda's 'Martyrologia.' This reading is supported by the legend of the coin if taken *Lyupardus*; and the coin is in other respects well executed, much better than the contemporary money of France. The P is exactly the same as in EPiscopuS, and the undoubted D in the name correctly formed.

The inscription on the Osthofen brooch, which it is impossible to read by the aid of our own futhorc only, gives genuine Teutonic names when we apply to its third and thirteenth runes the value which these inscriptions furnish. The tenth is the rune which I have supposed the equivalent of our *æsc*, in the Gothic futhorc, and the twenty-first is the q or k of the S. Gallen alphabet.

GOLRAT FUD (or FUD) ADILDAH OH MIK. (Pl. 14.)

*Futh*, or *fud*, is the preterite of *fithan* or *fidan*, (both

forms occur in the Munich MS. of the Heliand), an ancient form of *findan*, to “find,” “invent,” “devise.” The personal names, *Golo*, inscribed upon the altar at Minerve, in the department of Herault, and *Gololaico*, on a triens of the Poitiers mint, supply instances of the first element in the name *Golrat*; and *rat*, *adil* (or *atil*), and *dah* (or *tah*) correspond, of course, to our *ræd*, *æthel*, and *dæg* (*dæi*, *dæg*, *dah*), elements of frequent occurrence in other names.

“Golrat devised. Adildah owns me.”

This inscription must be considered a monument of the futhorc of the Franks.

Another inscription, found in 1660, at S. Acheul, near Amiens, presenting a similar mixture of runes and Latin letters, now claims our attention.

+LEVDELINVS  
HIC REQVISCIT  
IN PÆ E. VIXIT  
ANNVS L. DE=  
FVNTVS. EST  
VBI. FICIT. SEN  
ARIVS. DIE XV

+LEVDELINVS HIC REQVISCIT IN PACE VIXIT ANNVS L.  
DEFVNTVS EST VBI FICIT GENARIVS DIES XV.

This epitaph is remarkable for the uniform occurrence of the corresponding runes for the Latin letters L, F, and S.

On the other side of the stone is a second epitaph, in which the Latin letters are used throughout: we may

reasonably conclude it throughout to be the later in date of the two.

†VALDOLINA  
HIC REQVIIS  
CIT. IN PACE:  
VIXIT. ANNVS.  
XXX. DEFVNE  
TÆ. EST VBI FICIT  
T. IVLIVS. DIES  
XXIII.

†VALDOLINA HIC REQVIISCIT IN PACE VIXIT ANNVS XXX  
DEFUNCTA EST VBI FICIT IVLIVS DIES XXIII.

I have now to notice a scramasax, or single-edged sword, 28½ inches long, found in the Thames in 1857. On one side of the blade is a row of runes and ornaments inlaid in plaited gold and silver wire. The former are very carelessly formed, and, judged by the criterion of our other authorities, the order of the futhorc, after the nineteenth rune, is incorrect. We have *ing*, *dæg*, *lagu*, *man*, *æthel*, instead of *man*, *lagu*, *ing*, *æthel*, *dæg*. In the form of the runes there are important differences: *gear*, as on the Ebersheim tombstone, has nearly that of its Norse correspondent *ar*; *ih* is inverted; *sigel*, of the form which occurs in MS. Cotton Galba A. 2, and on the St. Acheul tombstone, seems to have been forgotten at first, and afterwards inserted; *æthel* has the form which appears as a secondary type in the MS. just referred to; *dæg* and *yr* are

curious varieties, but it may be doubted whether the peculiarity of the former may not be the result of carelessness. The futhorc is followed by the name BEAGNOD, of which the reading cannot be doubted, although the rune *gear* is carelessly substituted for *noth*.

ᚢ ᚦ ᚨ ᚦ ᚢ ᚦ ᚢ ᚦ

This weapon is an interesting companion to the Müncheberg spear.

As it was found in this country, it is most natural to suppose that it is of English origin, but I cannot feel satisfied as to this. It is a weapon which does not seem to have been in use amongst our forefathers, and which, as far as I know, has never been found in the cemeteries of our own land. Indeed, I know of no others, but the four, formerly in Mr. C. Roach Smith's collection, found, like this, in the bed or on the banks of the Thames. On the Continent it is known to have been a weapon of the Franks; and by them, perhaps, these five specimens may have been brought to England, and lost in the Thames. If so, I would read the name *Baughnanth*, for our *ea* is *au* in names of Franks, and our *o*, *an*; so it is probable that our rune *ear* had the sound *au*, and our *o*'s a nasal sound with them.

A brooch of silver, partly gilt, bearing runes, was found by M. Baudot, of Charnay, in Burgundy, in one of the graves of a cemetery on his own estate, a cemetery which he regards as the burial place of the slain in a battle, fought in the neighbourhood by the Franks under Clovis, and the Burgundians under Gondebald. Yet, when the number and variety of the weapons and ornaments disinterred from the graves is con-

sidered, I think it will seem more probable, that they whose remains rested there were buried in peace, with all funeral honours, from time to time, during succeeding generations, as we have reason to believe was the case in the cemeteries of Kent. In his view this brooch might be Frank or Burgundian, in mine it can only be the latter. One feature in this brooch seems to me to vindicate its Burgundian origin. My attention has been drawn of late to what I cannot but regard as tribe badges on two distinct classes of brooches, one belonging to Kent, the other to Gloucestershire especially. Of the former, I may cite as examples eight in the collection of Mr. Gibbs, of Faversham, (one of these is figured in Arch. Cant. Vol. I. p. 49), two from the Sarre cemetery (*Ibid.* Vol. V. p. 314, Pl. I.), one from Postling, and two from Gilton (Invent. Sepulchr. pl. II. 4; III. 4 and 6), and one from Rochester ('Collectanea Antiqua,' vol. iii. pl. xxxix. 1). On all these we have the letters **SU**, most distinctly on the Faversham, Sarre, and Postling examples, less so on the rest; and these letters, I think, can be nothing else than the initials of *Swæf*, the national name of the Jutings or Jutes. Of the latter, I will refer to examples found by Mr. Wylie, at Fairford ('Fairford Graves,' plates iii. 4, 5, and v. 3; and 'Pagan Saxondom,' pl. xix. 1, 2, 4), and to a pair found at Ashenden, in Buckinghamshire ('Pagan Saxondom,' pl. xxxviii. fig. 2). On these we have either the full moon (*mona*, *mano*) or its outline, the letter **ᚾ**. This letter, on the coins of the Mercian kings, is certainly the initial of the national name, and on those of Queen Cyne-thryth it is so treated as inevitably to remind one of the symbol from which it is derived; and I can but regard it as having the same signification on these brooches, all from the old Mercian kingdom, and on two others ('Pagan Saxondom,' pl. xxxiv. 2, 3) from Wiltshire, a county adjacent thereto. Now, on the face of the

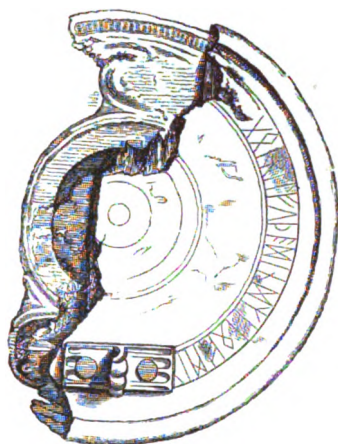
Charnay brooch (pl. 14) we observe several repetitions of the rune *wen*, and this, I think, can be nothing else than the initial of the national name of the great Vandal race, of which the Burgundians formed a part. Allied as they were to the Goths, it is not surprising to find in the futhorc, on the reverse of this brooch, a greater resemblance to that of the Goths, as presented to us on the Wadstena bracteate, than to that of the Angles; its fourth, sixth, and twelfth runes, and probably the sixteenth also, (for though it occurs in the place of *sigel* I think it must be *ing*), connecting it with the former, its ninth with the latter. Unfortunately it gives us only twenty runes, of which the last, which must have been *man*, is partly effaced. The side inscriptions supply two runes, *dæg* and *æthil* (or *othil*), of which the value cannot be doubted; and three others, of which the value can only be conjectured; and dots (4, 3, and 5), evidently marking divisions of words. They are,—

DA<sup>1</sup> :<sub>—</sub> 2 IA<sup>3</sup> O : 4 5 6 NDAI : ID.

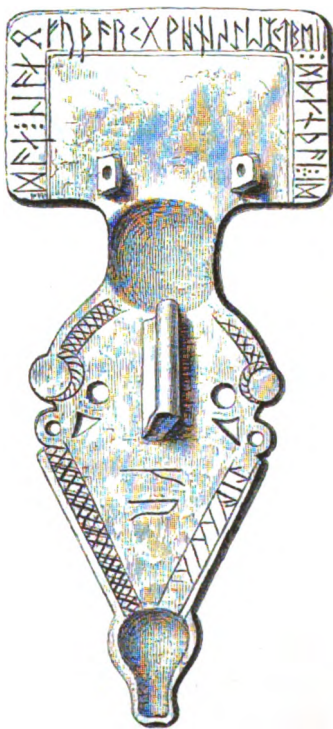
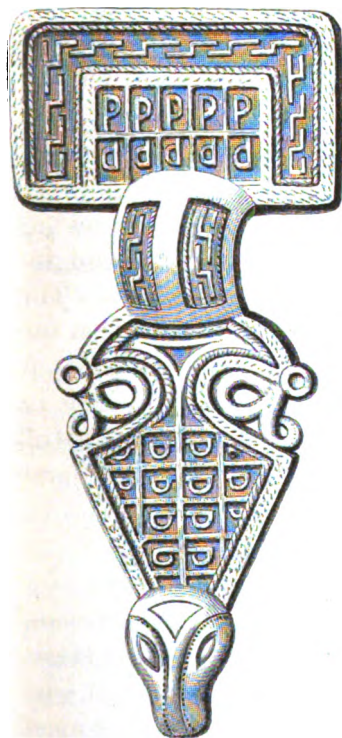
I think the first and third of the uncertain characters must be a variation of N; it is certainly a consonant, for it comes after two vowels and before another. The second, certainly a consonant, I take to be L, as on the S. Acheul stone. I do not think the sixth can be s; it precedes two consonants, and therefore should be a vowel. The fourth is given as a form of *yr* in a MS., C. 27, at St. John's, Oxford. The fifth may be a form of *calc* or *gur*. I venture to read the whole—

YKANÐAI IDÐAN LIANO.

In this there is but one word which bears any resemblance to a personal name, and that is *Liano* or *Liane*, found in composition in such names as Leonard, etc. Here, whether *æthel* have the *o* or the *e* sound it must



OSTHOFEN BROOCH. (St. p. 585).



CHARNAY BROOCH. (St. p. 587).





be in the dative. *Ycanthai*, or *ycandai*, reminds one of the Gothic plural subjunctive passive, *-andau*, and is evidently related to the verb *ycan*, to "increase." *Iddan*, then, will be the plural of a weak noun, and may be connected with the O. E. *ed*, "joy," or with *etho*, "a flock," (= *feoh*, "cattle, money").

"May joys" (or "wealth") "be increased to Lian."

The groups of three and two letters on the lower part of the brooch are evidently disconnected from the foregoing.

This explanation of a legend in characters partly of unknown value, and in a dialect altogether unknown, is offered with the greatest diffidence.

In the year 1843, in the course of the construction of the railway from Augsburg to Nürnberg, near Nordendorf, about sixteen miles north of Augsburg and nine from Donauwörth, an ancient cemetery was discovered, and this was thoroughly explored in that and the following summer, through the zeal and perseverance of the engineer, Herr Clemens Feigele. The graves, 3 to 7 feet deep, 5 to 6½ long, 2 to 3 wide, and 2 to 6 apart, were arranged in twenty rows from north to south, and contained the bodies of 151 men, 4 horses, 186 women, and 27 children, all lying with their feet to the east, save one man, who lay in the opposite direction. The results of the first year's digging were published by Dr. von Raiser under the title 'Fundgeschichte einer uralten Grabstätte bei Nordendorf;' but the method of which Bryan Faussett first set the example, (now everywhere followed), of registering separately the contents of each grave, was not adopted by the zealous director of the researches of that year; unfortunately, because there are three articles there found of which it would have been desirable to have had the assurance whether they were found in the graves of men or of women. The operations of the second year were recorded by the same

author in 'Fortgesetzte Fundgeschichte,' etc., and in this we have a careful catalogue of the contents of 170 graves, two plates of the relics discovered in 1843, more carefully drawn than in the former publication, and an additional plate of those of 1844. I shall take the liberty of making copious extracts from Dr. von Raiser's records, as they are little known in this country, for the sake of comparing the Nordendorf relics with the contents of our cemeteries, those of Kent in particular, and thereby establishing the certainty that they belong to a Teutonic, not to a Celtic race, as the learned author, (with whom I am sorry to see that my good friend Professor Stephens agrees), labours to prove.

The graves of 151 men contained—

Thirteen iron shield bosses, mostly hemispherical, some with a central projection ending in a button.

Forty-six long two-edged swords, varying from 33 to 38 inches long, and from 2 to 2½ broad. The hilts were about 5 inches long, with pommels, (where they were preserved), similar in form to some of those found in Kentish graves. Occasionally remains of scabbards of wood or leather appeared.

Twenty-one single-edged swords, from 17 to 27 inches long, 1½ to 2½ broad. Occasionally instances occurred of both kinds of sword in the same grave.

Thirty-eight spears and lances, all of forms familiar to us; but none of the sockets in Dr. von Raiser's plate are split like ours.

Many iron arrow-heads, a few of which are barbed.

Fifty (or thereabout) knives, great and small, one with a sheath.

Many buckles, of types like our own, and rings, and tongue-shaped girdle ends.

A bow-shaped (Roman) fibula, and an earring of thick silver wire.

Three spurs, each found singly, with very short spike.

An instrument formed of a flint, sharp at each end, fixed in an iron handle, (resembling a little double axe), supposed to be a lancet.

Many pieces of flint, and four supposed steels.

Two tweezers.

A cowry shell, a knop of terra cotta pierced through.

A few Roman coins.

An urn.

Two long bronze triple chains. These have so much the character of girdle pendants, with a certain resemblance to those found by Bryan Faussett in graves of women at Gilton, Kingston, Sibertswold, and Bekesbourne, that it would have been desirable to have had assurance that they were really found in the graves of men. They belong to the discoveries of 1843.

Four skeletons of horses were found in 1844, with remains of bridles, but neither of shoes nor saddles, in separate graves by the side of their masters' graves.

The graves of 185 women contained—

Beads of every variety,—clay plain or enamelled, glass, felspar, amethyst, and amber.

Pendants of gold, circular, heart-shaped, bell-shaped, adorned with filigree or gems.

One large and one smaller circular brooch of gold, and several of silver of various sizes, circular or foiled, inlaid with red or purple glass.

About a dozen brooches of the tau form, of iron or bronze or silver, with gold or silver ornamentation.

Eight brooches of the S form.

A brooch in the shape of a parrot, with eyes of red glass.

A circular brooch of bronze; the design, eight rays with three pellets between each.

A gilt brooch, 1 inch diameter, of quatrefoil design, with jewels in the centre and angles.

Twenty-one hair-pins of bronze, one of silver.

Five arm-rings of bronze.

Several rings of silver wire with sliding knots.

A bronze seal ring, much too large for a woman to have worn, with device of an armed warrior, (Roman).

An earring, ending in a serpent's head.

Twelve pierced metal wheels, of different devices, with which were usually found remains of ivory rims.

Many buckles, rings, girdle ornaments, and tongue-shaped tags.

Five balls ; whereof three of feldspar, one of crystal, and one of topaz.

Two little bronze shovels, (so called by Dr. von Raiser ; but they are of the same kind as those figured in Invent. Sep., pl. xii., under Nos. 6 and 7).

An imperfect magic shell, and a supposed talisman made out of the crown of a stag's horn.

Seven Venus-mussel shells in different graves.

A needle.

Fragments of styles, of brass.

Shears, of bronze ornamented, and of iron.

Six combs and fragments of others. Two of these, with double rows of teeth, have a guard turning on a pivot on each side.

Many knife blades.

Two Roman keys.

Fifty-four urns, one marked with a device of shears, and this in a grave with shears. These were in almost every instance placed at the feet of skeletons.

Five food vessels, not particularly described.

An iron handle, and hoops of a wooden bucket.

Four culinary vessels with handles and spouts.

The diggings of 1843 are said to have uncovered the remains of 66 men and 127 women ; but, as no children's graves of that year are mentioned, it is most probable that they were confounded with those of women ; and as the children's graves of 1844 were one in six, I will suppose that the result of the diggings of 1843 were—

66 graves of men, 95 of women, 32 of children.

78        "        "        61        "        "        27        "        "

were opened in 1844, so that the proportion, 144 men to 156 women, would be not unlike what we observe in our own cemeteries ; and hence we may conclude that the race, to whom this cemetery belonged, were as much a settled people as those who lived about Sarre and Gilton in the sixth and seventh centuries. Of the corpses disinterred in 1844, Dr. von Raiser observes, that 16 men were well-armed, and of these 4 provided with

horses, 19 meanly furnished, and 43 without weapon or ornament; 10 women were richly adorned, 14 less so, 36 had scarcely anything, and 1 nothing; 7 children had rich necklaces and playthings, 17 paltry ornaments, and 3 nothing. An examination of Bryan Faussett's and Mr. Brent's reports of their researches in the cemeteries of Kent gives very similar results,—evidence that the state of society in Kent was very nearly the same as in Swabia; and if we select for comparison a few of the richer Nordendorf graves, we shall observe a great resemblance to those with which we are more familiar.

The graves of men presented little variety. The following are the most remarkable:—

1844.—10. A long two-edged sword of steeled iron, a lance, an umbo, and a bronze buckle. In a grave on his right-hand lay the skeleton of a horse, with fragments of an iron bit.

1844.—84. A double-edged sword, a large dagger, an iron buckle, a rough broken flint, an urn, (the only instance in the grave of a man), and many fragments of iron, probably of harness. In a grave on his left-hand lay the skeleton of a horse in an attitude of repose, with remains of a bit.

1844.—152. A large two-edged dagger, three arrow-heads, many fragments of iron rings lying near the right hand. On the pelvis of a smaller skeleton in this grave lay two beads of mother-of-pearl, two bronze clasps, a large iron buckle, and a small grey striped stone; by the side, two little knives and an urn. Close to this grave was that of a horse, without any trace of harness.

The graves of women were as interesting as any of those in our cemeteries.

1843.—A. A grave 7½ feet deep, wherein the clay was hard stamped down, exhaling a mephitic stench so strong that the labourers were obliged to desist from time to time for the sake of fresh air. It contained a circular brooch of gold, (1½ diam.), inlaid with stones and coloured glass; four bell-shaped gold pendants; a small circular brooch, (¾ diam.), of silver, inlaid with red glass, near the knees; two larger, (1½ diam.), and two smaller, (¾ diam.), similarly inlaid; two strings of beads; two

tongue-shaped silver tags; two small and one large ring of bronze, and fragments of buckles; a little buckle on the shin bone; and a broken urn.

1843.—B. A grave presenting exactly the same characteristics as the last. A fine circular gold brooch, (2 in. diam.); two S-shaped brooches of gilt brass; three bell-shaped pendants of pure gold; two strings of beads; a bronze arm-ring; two bronze girdle rings, four ornamented metal plates for girdles, and three tongue-shaped bronze tags; a little knop of dark-coloured glass; and a large urn.

1844.—14. A string of beautiful enamelled beads; a silver brooch, inlaid with purple glass; the bronze seal-ring described above; a bronze buckle; and a knife.

1844.—18. A string of beads of clay and glass; a bronze earring ending in a snake's head; a colour-saucer of Samian ware, and in it a little bronze shovel, (note remarks above); a bronze hair-pin; and an urn.

1844.—109. A string of fine beads; two silver tau-shaped brooches, inlaid with red glass; a ball of feldspar, ( $2\frac{1}{8}$  diam.); a bronze clasp.

1844.—116. A string of beautiful figured beads; three circular gold pendants, ( $\frac{3}{8}$  diam.), and two smaller, with filigree ornamentation; two silver brooches, ( $1\frac{1}{8}$  diam.), inlaid with red glass in compartments radiating from a central boss, with two chains, (7 and 5 inches long), having little disks of silver, attached at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inch intervals, fastened to one of them; a silver hair-pin, beautifully figured; a ball of topaz, ( $1\frac{1}{8}$  diam.), secured in a silver setting; two knife blades; a pair of shears of iron; and two silver tongue-shaped tags for sandal bands.

1844.—127. A string of fine enamelled beads; a silver brooch, inlaid with red glass; two bronze knops; two bronze arm-rings, which seemed to have been gilt; a wheel of bronze, with fragments of an ivory rim, on the left hip; two bronze tags; and many iron fragments, chiefly of rings.

1844.—137. A string of two great and many small enamelled beads; three gold pendants; two circular silver brooches, inlaid with red glass; two silver, partly gilt, tau-shaped brooches, 5 inches long; a large and beautiful bronze hair-pin; a calcined mussel-shell in a silver setting; a large dagger; and a knife.

1844.—163. A string of very beautiful beads; five small gold pendants; a circular brooch of silver; two tau-shaped brooches

of silver gilt; a dagger,  $11\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, with haft of stag-horn, in a sheath edged with metal; a bronze disk with broken ivory rim, lying near the right foot; a bronze hair-pin, (lying, however, on the pelvis); a ball of feldspar; many large amethysts, by the shin bones.

1844.—164. A string of fine beads; a silver brooch, inlaid with purple glass; two brooches of silver gilt, S-shaped; a bead of amber, ( $1\frac{1}{4}$  diam.), between the feet; a broken ivory rim, which possibly encircled it; an arm-ring, with knops like a string of beads, of bronze gilt, on the left wrist; two silver tags, and three small bronze rings, lying on the hips.

1844.—165. A string of enamelled beads; a brooch in the form of a parrot, bronze gilt, with eyes of red glass; a silver brooch, inlaid with red glass; a brooch of gilt bronze, with six red stones; six gold pendants of peculiar form; a figured bronze hair-pin; an ornamental wheel of bronze, with broken ivory rim; two bronze and an iron buckle; two bronze tags, and a girdle ornament.

The following are the contents of two children's graves:—

1843, near B. A little urn, a little knife, a mussel shell, a ring, two ornamental plates, eight much worn Roman coins, pierced for suspension, a plate of bronze, and a fragment of a bronze buckle, all lying near the feet.

(This and the graves A and B are the only ones described of the first year's researches.)

1844.—96 A ring and a tag of bronze; a little knife; a shell-shaped plaything of clay; and nine Roman coins pierced for suspension, whereof two only could be identified, (one of Septimius Severus, broken, and one of Valens in fine preservation).

From the fine preservation of the last-mentioned coin, and of one of Valentinian I. found in another grave, Dr. von Raiser concludes that this cemetery was in use in the fourth century. In this he is probably right; for though coins of the Constantines, and even earlier, have occurred in our cemeteries they are usually much worn. Other Roman coins in inferior condition were found in the Nordendorf graves; viz. 1 Consular, 2

Divus Augustus, 1 Nerva, 3 Traianus, 2 Hadrianus, 1 Sabina, 1 Antoninus Pius, 1 Faustina, 1 Sept. Severus, 1 Constantinus, 1 Helena, 1 Urbs Roma, 1 Constantinus Junior, (well preserved), and 4 Constantius Junior.

From these details the reader will be satisfied that we are dealing with the relics of a race akin to our own. Closer examination shows that the arms of the men, and the ornaments of the women, were much the same as those of the Teutonic conquerors of Kent; much more like theirs, in fact, than the arms and ornaments of the Franks. Of the shield bosses I have said that some were hemispherical, a type, I believe, unknown in England; but the rest, as well as the swords, were like those found in Kentish graves. Judging from Dr. von Raiser's plate, I cannot say the same for the spears, which all seem to have closed sockets. This may not be a matter of consequence, for I believe that the Nordendorf cemetery is much earlier than any of our own which have been thoroughly explored, and the opening of the socket, which seems to have been universal in England, may have been a fashion introduced subsequently to the "coming of the Angles;" but I wish to notice every feature of contrast, as well as of resemblance. There does not seem to have been one angon, nor one axe; but of the scramasaxes, or single-edged swords, found so rarely in this country that we can hardly regard them, when so found, as other than the property of Frank or Frisian visitors, there were no less than twenty-one, in two or three instances found in the same grave as the long sword. The great number of swords, forty-six in 362 graves, nearly one in eight, or one to every three men, will be remarked, in contrast with the rare occurrence of this weapon in every one of our cemeteries except those at Sarre and Chessell, which yielded nearly one in ten graves, or about one to every five men. It cannot be supposed that the state of society



was materially different in the communities which lived around Sarre, Kingston and Gilton ; yet how few were the swords, five in 106 graves, two in 308, in the two last cemeteries ! For my part, I am inclined to think that caprice, rather than custom, determined when a sword should be laid by his side in the grave of its owner. Spears and shields were arms which any smith could make, but swords and coats of mail required the skill of accomplished armourers, were consequently far more precious, and so were frequently bequests from father to son, or from friend to friend. So, in *Beowulf*, Hiorogar is said to have given his helmet, byrnie and sword, which should have passed to his son Heoroweard, to his brother Hrothgar ; these Hrothgar gave to Beowulf, and he to Hygelac.<sup>1</sup> So also the byrnie which Beowulf wore was Hrædla's legacy, and in the event of his death was to be sent to Hygelac.<sup>2</sup> So also the sword

*Beowulf*—

<sup>1</sup> l. 4310. Hét thá in-beran  
eofor-heáfod-segn  
heatho-steápne helm  
(here)- byrnau  
gúth-sweord geátolic  
gyd æfter wræc  
Me this hilde-sceorp  
Hróthgár sealde

" commanded them to bring in  
the boar-head-sign,  
the warlike towering helm,  
—— byrnie,  
the battle sword beautiful ;  
word after spake.  
To me this war-gear  
Hrothgar gave,

owæ'th thæt hyt hæfde  
Heorogár cyning  
leóð Scyldinga  
lange hwíle  
no thy' ær suna sinum  
syllan wolde  
hwatum Heorowearde  
theáh the him hold wære  
breóst-gewæ'du.  
Brúc ealles well.

said that it had  
King Hiorogar,  
the lord of the Scyldings,  
a long while ;  
not the sooner to his son  
would he give it,  
to the bold Heoroweard  
though he to him was dear,  
the breast-weeds.  
Enjoy it all well."

(To Hrothgar) *Beowulf* says :—

<sup>2</sup> l. 908. Onsend Higeláce  
gif mee hild nime  
beadu-scrúda betst

" Send to Hygelac,  
if the fight take me off,  
the best of battle-shrouds

of Eanmund came in succession to his uncle Onela, to Weohstan, and to Weohstan's son Wiglaf.<sup>1</sup> Amongst the Vikings of a later time we have the remarkable instance of the sword of Carlus, an heirloom in the family of the Danish kings of Dublin for more than 150 years; and in the bequests of swords cited by Mr. Akerman ('Pagan Saxondom,' p. 49), there is mention of one which had come down from the time of King Offa, (nearly 200 years). To say nothing of coats of mail, (of which the rings would soon be consumed by rust), if swords are rare generally in the cemeteries of the Angles, Saxons, Jutes and Franks, I would account for this by the theory, which equally accounts for the fact of the still greater rarity of helmets, that they had

thæt mīne brēost wereth  
hræglā sēlest  
thæt is Hrædlan lāf  
Welandes geweorc.

that my breast defends,  
of dresses most excellent  
it is Hrædla's legacy,  
Weland's work."

<sup>1</sup> 1.5214. gomel swyrd geteáh  
thæt wæs mid eldum  
Eanmundes lāf  
suna Ohtheres  
thām æt sæcce wearth  
wræce wineleasum  
Weohstán bana  
meces ecgum  
and his magum æt-bær  
brún-fágne helm  
hringde byrnan  
eald sweord Eótonisc  
thæt him Onela forgea.

*Wiglaf—*

"drew his old sword,  
that was among men  
legacy of Eanmund,  
Ohthere's son;  
of whom in fight was,  
(of revenge to the friendless one),  
Weohstan the slayer,  
with edges of the sword;  
and from his kinsman he bare away  
the brown-stained helm,  
the ringed byrnie,  
the old Jutiah sword,  
that Onela had given him.

He frætwe geheold  
fela missera  
bill and byrnan  
oththæt his byre mihte  
eorlscipe efnan  
swá his ær-fæder.  
Geaf him thá mid Geátum  
gúth-gewæ'da  
æghwæs unrím.

He held the gear  
many half-years,  
the sword and byrnie,  
until that his son might  
earlship win,  
as his fore-father.  
He gave him them among the Goths  
of war-weeds  
of every kind no end."

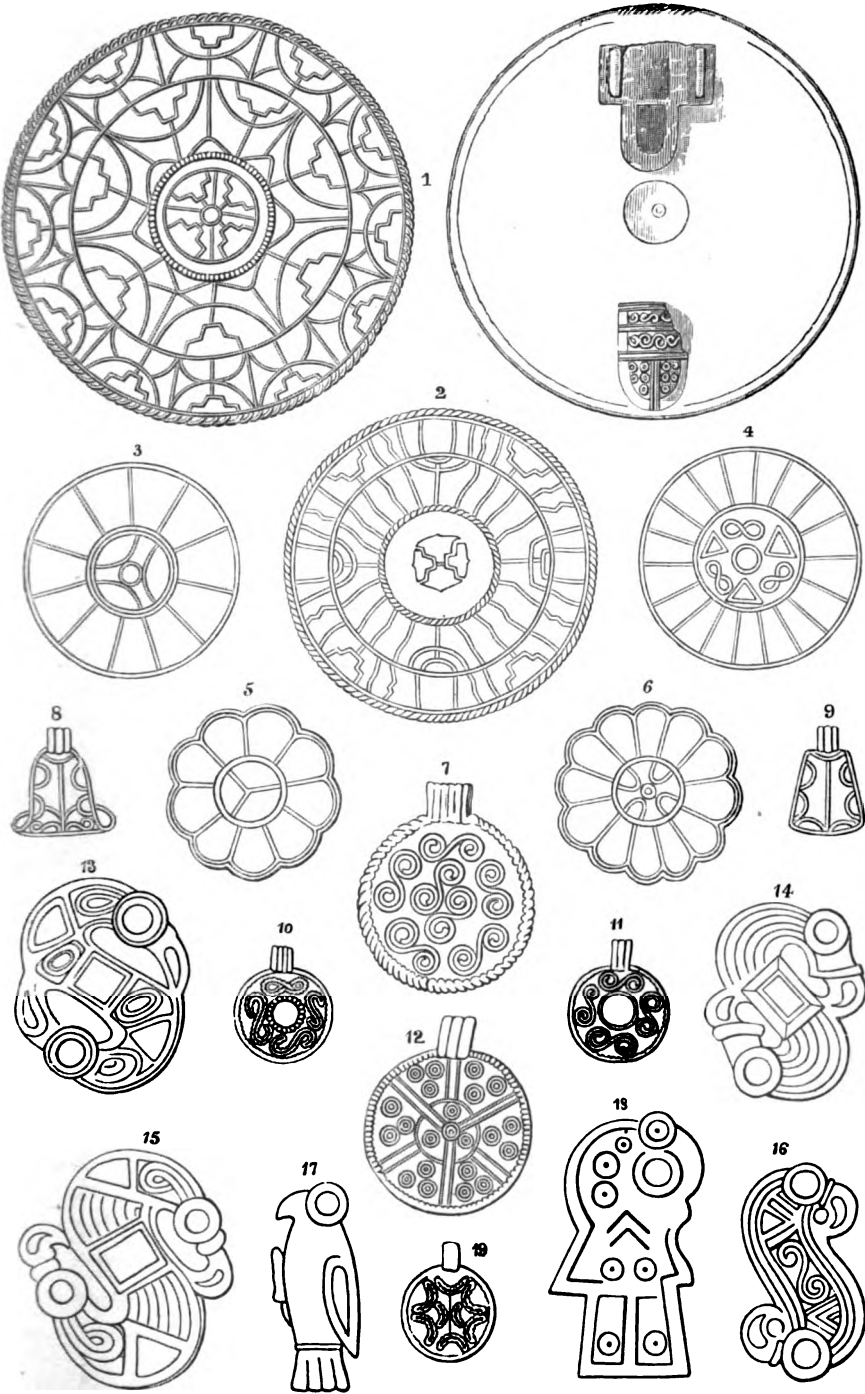
passed by bequest to survivors; if occasionally they occur frequently, as at Oberflacht, (where six coffins in forty contained them, and one of these had three), Nordendorf, Sarre, and Chessell, I would imagine exceptional circumstances, special affection on the part of heirs, or desire to pay unusual honour to the departed, etc. I cannot think that the laws of Cnut, which the late Mr. Kemble (see '*Horæ Ferales*,' p. 204) cited in his letter to Mr. Akerman, with reference to this subject, can be applied to the state of society five or six centuries earlier than his time.

Dr. von Raiser says that several arrow-heads were found in the diggings of 1843; but in those of 1844 there were only a doubtful fragment, (the only relic), in grave 57, and the three in grave 152. Of the forty graves at Oberflacht, eight presented bows and arrows; in one a bow only is recorded, in one a bow and one arrow, in two the number of arrows is not specified, but in the remaining four each bow was accompanied, as in this Nordendorf grave, by three arrows. In our graves the absence of arrow-heads is remarkable. The hundreds of graves opened by Bryan Faussett yielded but fifteen, each occurring singly; and in every instance it seemed at least equally probable that the instrument was the head of a small javelin. There was not one at Sarre. But one remarkable grave on Chessell-down presented traces of a bow, about five feet long, and two dozen arrow-heads near the right hip, besides a spear seven feet long on the right side, a sword thirty-four inches long on the left, a knife across the left hip, a shield-boss on the knees, a bowl and a pail of bronze, and the silver rim of a bucket. In this grave of a warrior completely armed, in that of the Nordendorf horseman, and in two of the Oberflacht graves, (where swords accompanied the bows), we seem to have evidence that the use of these weapons was not confined to those who fought

on foot, the ordinary soldiers, the *gúra-cyn* or "spear-folk."

The rarity of shield-bosses in this cemetery,—only thirteen, as compared with Sarre, thirty-three, and Gilton, twenty,—is remarkable; I can only refer to the fact, that at Oberflacht not one example occurred, and, indeed, only one shield, (of a different class), where all wooden objects were well preserved.

Turning now to the ladies' ornaments,—every variety of the beads figured by Dr. von Raiser has its counterpart in our cemeteries; so also have the circular gold pendants, adorned with filigree (*e. g.* one from Stodmarsh, Arch. xxxvi.), and the bell-shaped pendants (Arch. Cant. III. Pl. V. 1, 2, 3); but not so one or two other types. The gold brooch from grave B (Pl. 15 fig. 1) is exactly of the character of the finest class of Kentish brooches, larger than the Gilton brooch (Invent. Sep. pl. ii. 4.), smaller than the rest; the peculiar pattern of its ornamentation may be compared with those of the Kingston queen of brooches, the Gilton brooch, one of the Faversham pendants, a sword pommel found at Sarre, and other Kentish relics. The commonest type of the Nordendorf brooches, circular or foiled, of silver, with glass inlaid in compartments radiating from the centre, (Pl. 15. fig. 3 to 6), has occurred at Sarre, Faversham, Patricksbourne and Chessell, as well as at Envermeu, (Norm. Souterr. pl. xii. 2). Of the tau-shaped brooches, (Pl. 16, 17, 18), there is one which may be compared with the example found in a man's grave at Searby, in Lincolnshire, (Coll. Ant. v. pl. xii. 1), and others from Folkestone, Osingell, and Harrietsham, (*Ibid.* ii. pl. i. 3, iii. pl. vi. 2); another from grave 137 (Pl. 18, fig. 5), resembling those from Gilton (Inv. Sep. pl. viii. 3), and Richborough (Pag. Saxon. pl. xxix. 4), both much worn; and some which remind one of the Gilton specimen (Pag. Saxon.



BROOCHES AND PENDANTS.

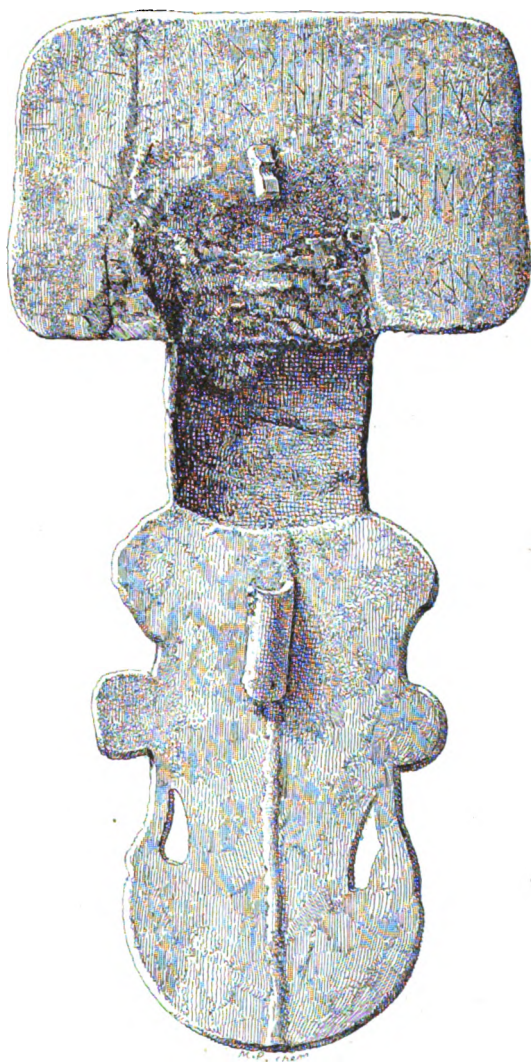




NORDENDORF BROOCH.







(Stephens p. 571).







TAU-SHAPED BROOCHES.

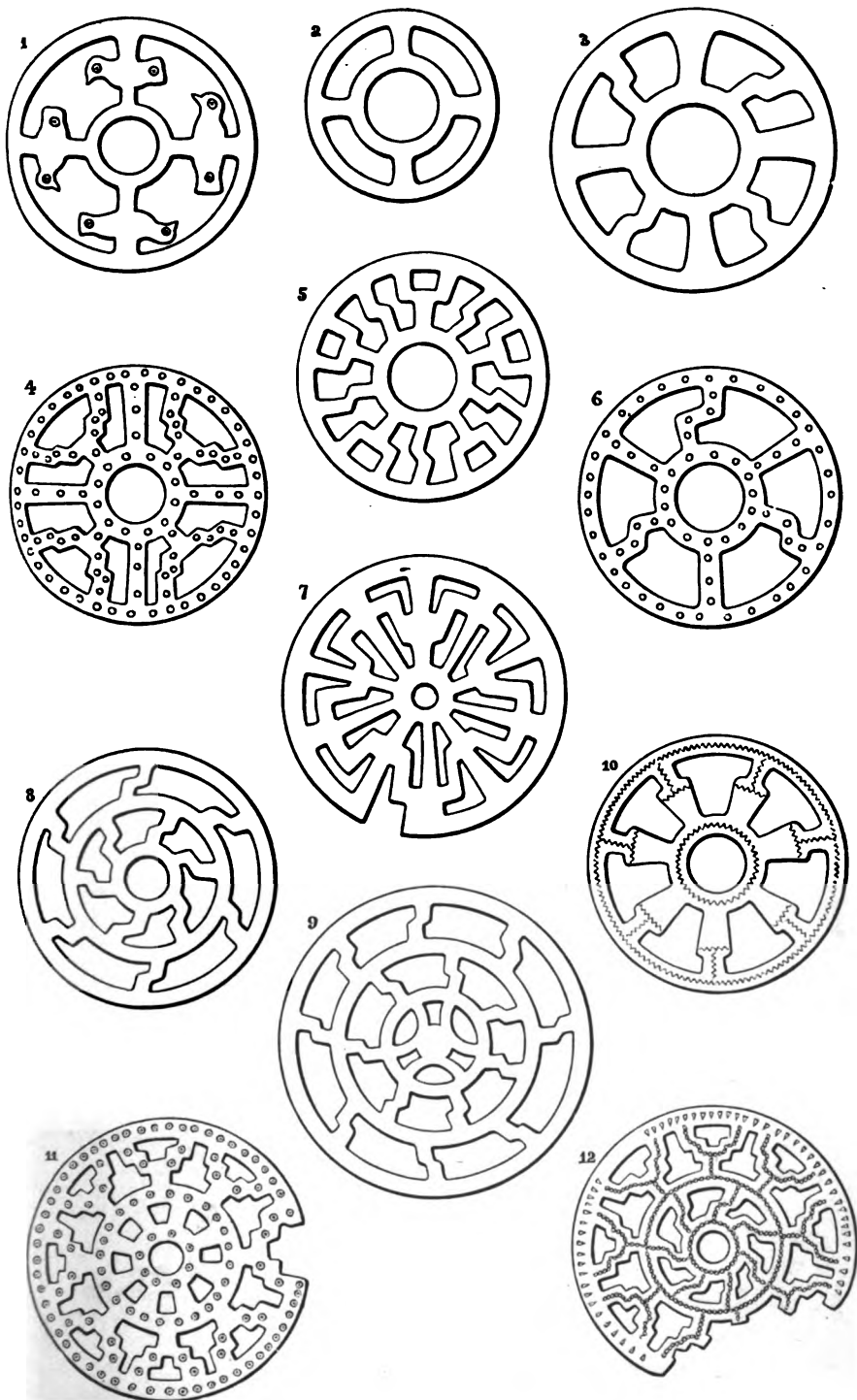
pl. xxix. 3), and of others from Faversham, Patricksbourne and Chessell. The S-shaped brooches, (Pl. 15, fig. 13, 14, 15, 16), have been found at Chessell, and Bowcombe, Wight. One of the bird-shaped brooches, (Pl. 15, fig. 17 and 18), is similar to those from the Patricksbourne and Chessell cemeteries; the other of a very different type. The pierced wheel-like objects, (Pl. 19, fig. 1 to 10), which once had ivory rims, but of the precise use of which there seems to be no indication, are very curious. An example from Lullingstone is figured in this work (Vol. III. p. 45, Pl. I), which may be compared especially with fig. 4; and there is another in the Faversham collection; but what is even more worthy of remark, is that the character of the ornament is observable on other objects, particularly in the circles surrounding the small bosses on the beautiful Sarre brooch<sup>1</sup>. Evidently the people of Swabia and of Kent had art traditions in common.

The Teutonic conquerors of Swabia, (then *Rhætia Prima*), were, of course, mainly *Sweves* or *Juthings*. In A.D. 357 and 358 we hear of them invading this province and repelled by Constantius II., and twenty-six years later they were again driven out by the Ostrogoth, Alan, and Hun stipendiaries of Gratian and Theodosius. Thenceforward there is no notice of any successes gained over them until A.D. 430, when they suffered a defeat at the hands of Aetius. Their final occupation of this province, which eventually received, and still retains, their name, must be dated in the interval between A.D. 384 and 406, when Stilicho abandoned it to the Barbarians, with the rest of the Trans-Alpine provinces. From the latter date assuredly they were undisturbed.

<sup>1</sup> I have added to the Nordendorf examples two others from Prof. Lindenschmit's '*Alterthümer unserer Heidnischen Vorzeit*,' for the sake of further comparison. Fig. 11 is from Geisenheim, Rheingau; fig. 12 from Oberolm, Rheinhausen.

The many resemblances we have noticed between the relics from this Nordendorf cemetery, and others from the cemeteries of Kent and Wight, (especially the earliest), are so many indications of the origin of the peoples to whom they belonged. The Sweve-Juthings of Swabia, and the Jutes of Jutland, Kent and Wight, are so many scions of that "gens longe maxima et bellicosissima Germanorum omnium," whose ancient home was beyond the Elbe, where now are Prussia and Livonia; and in the excellence of Kentish art, as compared with that of the Angles and Saxons in England and the Franks abroad, we may discern traces of that superiority of the Sweves, which all other tribes of the German race confessed in the days of Cæsar. Is not the fact, that one word, *Eotenas* or *Iotar*, in O.E. and Norse literature, denoted "Jutes" and "giants," another indication of this acknowledged, hated, superiority?

So far I have said nothing of the most interesting relic found at Nordendorf, a large tau-shaped brooch,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, of silver gilt, and ornamented with niello, (Pl. 16, 17). It was found, in 1843, for it is figured No. 38 of Dr. von Raiser's account of the discoveries of that year, and on a larger scale in Pl. II. 11 of his later publication; (I have already said that all the objects figured in that plate belong to the first year's diggings). It is one of the objects, about the circumstances of the finding of which I should have wished for particular information; for it is clear, from the inscriptions on its reverse, that it belonged to men, and so it is not probable that it was found in a woman's grave. That brooches of this class were worn by men as well as by women is certain: not to multiply examples, of which some may be found in that valuable repertory, the 'Collectanea Antiqua,' I would mention that the only specimen of this class found by Bryan Faussett, (Invent. Sep. pl. viii. 3), was from the rich



PIERCED WHEEL-LIKE ORNAMENTS.





grave of a man, with sword and shield, (Gilton, No. 48).

It has two inscriptions in runes:—

- |                    |                           |
|--------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. LONAD ORE WODAN | “Wodan rewards with money |
| WINI DONAR         | (his) friend Thonar.”     |

2. A later one, ending where it meets the other—  
LEUBWINI.

*Lonath* is ind. pres. 3 sing., O.H.G. and O.S. *lonon* to “reward;” *ore* or *ora*, (for we cannot be quite sure of the value of the last letter in this inscription), dat. sing. of O.H.G. *ar*, O.E. *ora*. The construction of these lines is the same as in *Beowulf*:—

- |                                                                               |                                                                                            |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. 2764. “Ic the thá fæ’hte<br>feó leánige.”                                  | “I thee for the fight<br>reward with money.”                                               |
| 1. 4209. “Me thone wælræs<br>wine Scyldinga<br>fættan golde<br>fela leánode.” | “Me for the death rush<br>the friend of the Scyldings<br>with rich gold<br>much rewarded.” |

It is extremely interesting to find thus in connection the names of Woden and Thor, (for *Thonar* and our *Thunor* are ancient forms of *Thor*), since Norse tradition asserts that Thor was one of the twelve chiefs who accompanied Woden from the East; and, although it is certain that both these were personal names amongst the Pagan Teutonic races, and might have been in frequent use,—we have a *Thunor*, for instance, in Kentish history,—it seems to me very probable that the persons named in this inscription are no other than the heroes of the tradition, the former of whom I have endeavoured to restore to his place in history. For in the immediate neighbourhood of this cemetery there is a hill, the name of which, (variously written Donrsperch, Dornsparg, Donersberg, Donnersberg, in old documents, and now Dornsbarg), indicates that a chieftain, one of the early Teutonic settlers in this district, bore the name of

Donar or Thonar. The date of the first complete occupation of this district by Sweve-Juthings was in the latter half of the fourth century, *i. e.* not long subsequent to my date for Woden's expedition, (but they had been infesting it for about thirty years previously). It seems that Sweves and Goths were associated in the invasion and conquest of Scandinavia, and assuredly the Wodan named in this inscription must have been a prince, and Thonar have stood in the same relation to him as Beowulf to Hrothgar. I think it, therefore, very probable that Thonar was associated with Wodan in his conquest, and that, when Wodan was established in the north, Thonar led his Juthings into Rhætia, and gave his name to Dornsberg, perhaps to Nordendorf also, for in old documents it is called Dorndorf; and I regard this brooch as a historic monument of the highest interest.


In the second inscription, perfectly distinct from this, and written when the brooch was turned in a different direction, *Leubwini* may be a personal name, our *Leofwini*; but, as it must be taken in connection with letters which precede it, I think it may be a compound word, meaning "dear friend," like *mæg-wine*, *guth-wine*. Dr. Lindenschmit gives the preceding letters AWA, (in Professor Stephens's engraving only the last of these appears). If these be correctly read, they are best explained by the O. E. *āwa*, "always." The letter which follows is L, a simple initial, (for here it meets the R of *Thonar*, and the word could not be written in full), perhaps of *libba*, "live," "live for ever, Leubwini," or "dear friend."

This brooch must have belonged to a man, and, this admitted, we have in its owner a fitting mate for the rich lady of grave B. Like the Gilton brooch, above referred to, it must have been many years in use, for it is very much worn at the sides; indeed, it had belonged to two successive owners, Thonar and Leubwini.

I must now call my reader's attention to a futhorc in MS. 270 at S. Gallen. (Pl. 1, *h*.) The runes which compose it are arranged as an alphabet in MS. 878, above referred to; and, as that alphabet is followed by the futhorc *b*, which is called "Anguliscum" for distinction, it seems clear to me that the alphabet and the futhorc in MS. 270 are something other than "Anguliscum," that they belong to some other branch of the Teutonic stock. A MS., 14,436, at Munich, contains another alphabet arranged from the same futhorc, which it and the alphabet in MS. 878 serve admirably to illustrate and correct.

I. 3. The name is *dorn* in all the MSS. In MS. 878 it is followed by I. 8, *huun*, on account of the resemblance in form.

I. 7 and II. 6. The MSS. agree in the peculiar form of these two runes, the latter almost identical with the *cweorth* of MS. Galba A. 2.

II. 4. The S. Gallen alphabet gives this as a second form of *g*; the Munich MS. has the rune  with the name *ker*, as a second form of *κ*.

II. 5. Both alphabets give this as *κ*, the latter with the name *ki*.

II. 7. The Munich MS. differs from the others in giving to this rune a form more like its English correspondent.

III. 4. The futhorc gives to this rune a form which in all inscriptions belongs to III. 7. MS. 878 happily corrects this error.

III. 6. The Munich alphabet gives the form and name just as in the futhorc.

III. 8. The S. Gallen alphabet gives this and I. 4 as forms of *o*; the Munich alphabet this only.

IV. 1 and 2. The futhorc seems to reverse the relative places of these runes. MS. 878 gives both as *a*, in the English order. The Munich MS. gives the name *ac* to a rune of the usual form, so that we may believe that they really stood as in the English futhorc, and correct MS. 270 in this respect.

IV. 3. The futhorc has the name *yur*, and the value *q*; the Munich alphabet gives the correction *qur*. The S. Gallen alphabet gives the value *p*, and another form of *q*, which is

really the *chon* or *ghon* of the "Marcomannic" alphabet, which will be examined immediately.

It is curious that this futhorc gives the name *perð* to a rune which resembles the English *cweorth*, and *qur* to one identical with the English *peord*. Fortunately we are able to explain this. Our runes are symbols of natural objects, (doubtless much changed from their original forms), and each of these runes is the symbol of a "horse." The Hebrew *perod*, "a mule," Arabic *purut*, "a swift horse," O.H.G. *pfaorit*, O.S. *pererd*, Modern H.G. *pferd*, Holl. *paard*, *paerd*, *peerd*, and Latin (Celtic) *veredus*, represent *peord*; and the old language of Chaldæa gives us *kur*, (akin to the Latin *currere*, *cursus*, Teutonic *hors*, as the late Dr. Hincks remarked), for "horse." So symbols, which represented the same kind of object, would be easily interchanged in the futhorc of different tribes. I may also call attention to the runes II. 5 and III. 3, the names of which are nearly the same. The former, it will be observed, resembles very closely the S. Gallen *perð*; the latter differs only in position from II. 6 of the Charnay futhorc. Its name, I believe, is given on a bracteate *EHWU*, and the Gothic *aihwus*, (inferred from the compound *aihwatundi*), the O.S. *ehu*, O.E. *eoh* and *eh*, Latin *equus*, are the same. These four runes, I believe, may have symbolized different kinds of horses,—animals which would be of the greatest value to our forefathers in their primeval home in Asia, where the futhorc was first arranged. The two first runes, *fech*, (cf. *pecus*, *pecunia*), and *ur*, ("a wild bull," *urus*), are symbols of different kinds of cattle. I have no doubt but that this futhorc, preserved for us by the Scottish monks of S. Gallen, is that which belonged peculiarly to their neighbours, the Alamans, who from the fourth century occupied the Upper Rhine, as far as the Lake of Constance. The Alamans seem to have been always neighbours of

the Sweve-Juthings, and were associated with them in the invasions of Rhætia in the latter half of the fourth century; and this futhorc of theirs affords important assistance in reading the runes on the most precious of all the Kentish Runic relics, the Jutish sword-hilt from the Gilton cemetery, now in the Mayer Museum at Liverpool. But I have still to notice an important alphabet, equally valuable for this purpose, of which we have no less than seven different copies, in MSS. ranging from the ninth to the fourteenth centuries.

The earliest is found in the treatise 'De Inventionem Linguarum,' by Hrabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Mainz, who wrote about the middle of the ninth century.<sup>1</sup> It is accompanied by the following notice:—

"Litteras quippe, quas utuntur Marcomanni, quos nos Nordmannos vocamus, infra scripta habemus, a quibus originem, qui theodiscam loquuntur linguam, trahunt. Cum quibus carmina sua, incantationesque ac divinationes significare procurant, qui adhuc paganis ritibus involvuntur."

In a MS. at Paris, 5239, of the beginning of the twelfth century, and in MS. Cotton. Tiberius, D.xviii., they are noticed in nearly the same words:—

"Hæ etenim literarum figuræ in gente Nortmannorum feruntur primitus inventæ. Quibus ob carminum eorum memoriam, et incantationum uti adhuc dicuntur. Quibus et runstafas nomen imposuerunt, ob id, ut reor, quod iis res absconditas vicissim scriptitando aperiebant."

To my mind, the first of these notices is evidence that, at the time it was written, these runes were in use amongst a people who were known by the name of *March-men*, and who were also, relatively to the country of the writer, *North-men*. That he meant by them the tribes north of the Elbe is not unlikely, and there

<sup>1</sup> I do not, of course, suppose that Hrabanus himself wrote these sentences; but believe that they were added to his treatise within a century of his death.

is no reason why these characters might not be used in charms, or for what were supposed to be so, long after the conversion of the people to Christianity. Why, even to this day, the housemarks in use amongst the (partly Saxon, partly Frisian) people of Ditmarsh, are unmistakeably runes. The writer naturally arranged them in the order of the alphabet with which he was most familiar.

The peculiar runes of this alphabet (Pl. 1, *l. m*) are these:—c exactly the same as its correspondent in the Norse futhorc; g and h of forms peculiar to this alphabet; k, *gilc* or *kalk*, found in Northumbrian inscriptions, (though not in the Salzburg MS. futhorc, which does not include it); *othil*, in the form of the English *ós*; q, *ckon* or *qhon*, resembling that in the S. Gallen futhorc. All the four last, too, are remarkable.

To the futhorc from which this alphabet is taken, an inscription, now known only by a rubbing found amongst the papers of the learned Danish antiquary, Arendt, belongs. It gives us merely a man's name,

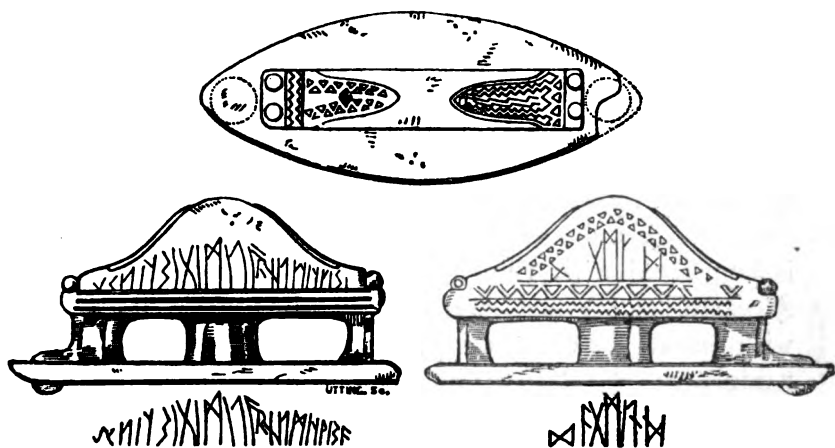
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ANSAGVISIA,

in which the g has the form which elsewhere is found only in this alphabet. It is much to be regretted that no record exists of the place whence the rubbing was taken. It cannot, surely, be that of which Arendt, in one of his lists, says, "A very old and Anglo-Saxon inscription on wood from Gjevedal Church, Omlie, in the Westland (Norway). *The contents probably speak of the time when the church was consecrated.*" Arendt would never have said this of an inscription of ten letters. That, doubtless, is lost, as so many of his rubbings are; and of this, whether made by himself or made for him by a friend, there is no record. It is invaluable on account of the rare form of the g.

The name is well known in history under the form *Ansgis*.

I believe that the province of Holstein has not yet produced any standing monument revealing to us the forms of the old runes of its ancient inhabitants. There, doubtless, as in South England, the influence of the missionaries of the Christian faith was strenuously and successfully exerted to abolish the futhorc, and substitute the abecedarium in its stead; but we may believe, from the passage cited above, that there were some of its people strongly attached to the old writing of their fathers, and on that account perhaps suspected of Paganism, long after they were converted to Christianity.



Owing to the edge having been rounded and worn through long use, the runes at the beginning and end of the inscription on the sword-hilt are not so distinct as we could wish on one side, but the traces of the characteristic marks are such, when examined minutely, as to leave no doubt as to the reading in my mind; on the other side the inscription is nearly effaced, yet I think I can restore the name of the owner. I read it,

ICU IK SIGI MUARNUM IK WISA DAGMUND.

s 2

The first rune is II. 5; the upper part is worn away, but it can have been no other; its value is *i*, long. The second is I. 6, of the Burgundian and Gothic form. The third, eleventh, and fifteenth are I. 2, of the form which the alphabet in MS. 878, the Marcomannic alphabet, and the alphabet of Wulfila present. The fifth and eighteenth are the rune which is called *chon* or *qhon* in the Marcomannic alphabet, the second form of *q* in MS. 878, the *q* of Wulfila's alphabet. The sixth we have met with on the equally Jutish shield-boss from Thorsbjerg. *Icu* is the indic. pres. 1 sing. of the verb *ícan*, "to add," "increase," "prolong." This termination in *u*, characteristic of the O.H.G. and O.S. dialects, and of the Northumbrian, (as exemplified in the Durham Ritual), was also characteristic of the early Kentish dialect, (as exemplified in the gloss to the Cottonian Psalter, Vespasian A. 1, a MS. believed in the fifteenth century to have belonged to S. Augustine of Canterbury). The O.H.G. and O.S. have also the spelling *ua* for *a*, *uo* for *o*; and so by the forms *icu*, (for *íce* or *éace*), and *muarnum*, (for *mærnum*), this inscription is connected with the Continental Teutonic dialects. *Muarnum* for *mærnum*, supposes a noun *mæren*, connected with *mær*, "great," as *mægen*, "might," with *mæg*, "mighty. The dative plural in *um* is common to the O.E., O.F., and Gothic. I translate the whole,—

"I increase victory by great deeds, I, chieftain Dagmund."

The character of this inscription, the ancient forms of the language, and the presumed antiquity of most of the interments in the Gilton cemetery, concur to warrant us in regarding this hilt as a relic of the fifth or sixth century.

I have noticed above the evidence, which the mosses of Denmark afford, of an invasion of Denmark and the Isles by two foreign peoples in the fourth century, and



that which the stone monuments of Sweden and Norway supply, that one of these peoples eventually settled in those countries. I have expressed my conviction, based on the language of these monuments, that this people belonged to the Gothic race. I have indicated, rather than distinctly expressed, my opinion that the other people, associated with these Goths, was of that race which our own history tells us was also associated with the Goths in the conquest of Wiht, and therefore probably of Kent, the Jutes; and I have shown the identity of their name with the Jotungi or Juthungi of the geographers and historians of the later empire. This people, I believe, remained in the Cimbrica Chersonesus, gave to it the name Jutland, and maintained their power there until about the commencement of the seventh century, when they succumbed to another people, who introduced the art which characterizes the later Iron Age, and that futhorc which eventually prevailed throughout the whole of Scandinavia. They came to Britain A.D. 428; at first as allies, but afterwards as foes; they overran the greater part of the island, but eventually occupied Kent and Wight, leaving the rest of Britain to the Angles and the Saxons, who had followed in their wake, and joined in their enterprise. So here and there, a grave in Yorkshire, (*e.g.* at Seamer), or in Derbyshire, (*e.g.* White Lowe, near Winster), and elsewhere,—monuments of the early years of their presence in this island,—and everywhere the cemeteries of Kent and Wight, have yielded relics of that beautiful style of art which distinguishes the Swabian graves from those of the rest of Germany, and characterizes (what is called) in Denmark the second division of the early Iron Age; of which the ornaments in Pl. 7, enriched with filigree, slabs of garnet inlaid, and bosses of ivory (probably), are examples. The Nydam swords first attracted my attention to this correspondence.

In Pl. 20, I give for comparison, all  $\frac{1}{4}$  size :

1, a sword hilt ; and 4, part of another, from Thorsbjerg ;

2 and 3, hilt and sword from Nydam ;

5, hilt of a sword from Faversham ;

6, hilt of a sword from Gilton ;

7, sword from Combe ;

8, sword from Sarre.

The hilt from Thorsbjerg is imperfect, but the length of the rivets shows that the pommel must have been something like the dotted outline ; I would call particular attention to the repetition of the rune *othil* on 4, and ask my readers to refer to pl. xvi. of the Invent. Sepulchrale, where the same rune occurs three times on each of the plates of a cup from Chartham ; I have selected the Faversham example for the sake of its pommel, and that from Sarre for the sake of its guard.

In Pl. 21, by the kindness of Messrs. Thiele, of Copenhagen, I am enabled to give representations of a sword-hilt from Bildsö moss, in Fyen, finer than any of the Nydam swords, and approaching more closely to the common Kentish type, of which the most perfect examples are those from Gilton and Combe, (in Pl. 20, and full size in 'Pagan Saxondom,' pl. xxiv.). To these may be added, for comparison, the other Gilton example noticed above, three fine varieties from Sarre, (graves lxxxviii., xci., and another), and two from Patricksbourne. Others of simpler character occurred at Sarre.

Now, let me ask my readers to compare these swords with the description in Beowulf of an "old Jutish sword":—

l. 3118. "Geseah thá on sear-

wum

sige-cádig bil

cald sweord Eótenisc

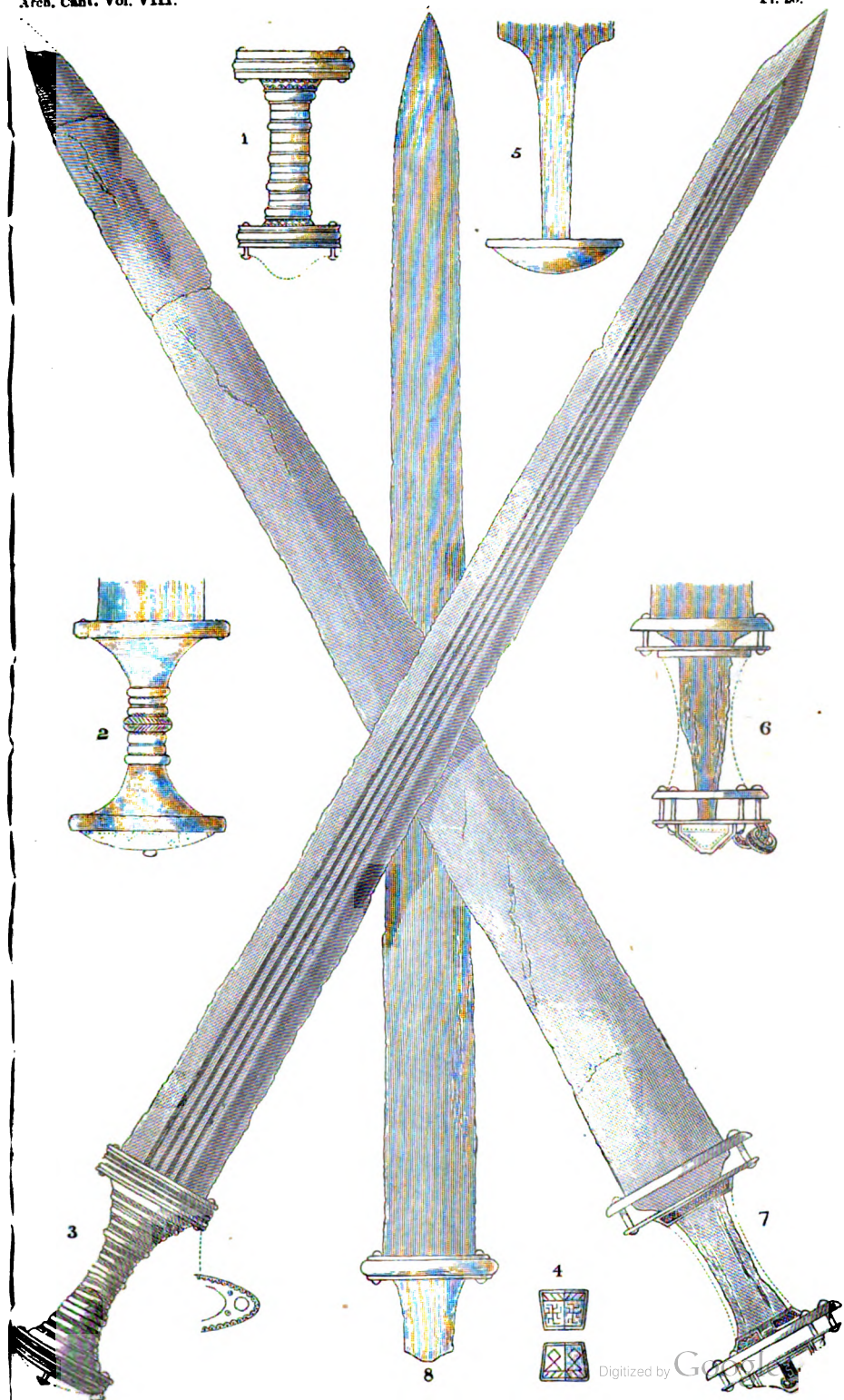
ecgum thyhtig

"He saw then among the weapons

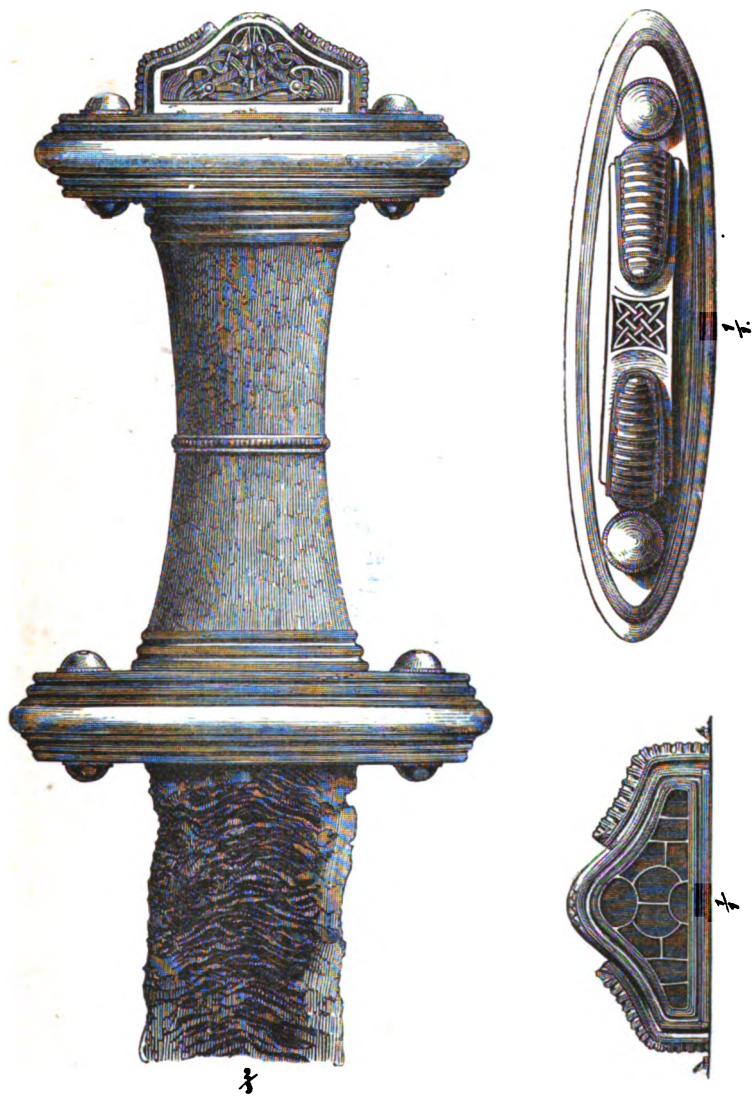
a victory-happy bill,

an old Jutish sword,

in edges doughty,







SWORD-HILT FROM BILDSÖ MOSS.



- |          |                                                                                                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|          | wigena weorthmynd."                                                                                                                                                                                         | of warriors the glory."                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| 1 3130.  | "He gefeng thá fetel-hilt<br>freca Scyldinga<br>breoh and heorogrim<br>bring-mæ'l gebrægd."                                                                                                                 | "He seized the belted hilt,<br>the bold one of the Scyldings,<br>fierce and sword-grim,<br>the ringed sword drew."                                                                                                       |
| 1. 3392. | "Swá was on thæ'm scen-<br>num<br>scíran goldes<br>thurh rún-stafas<br>rihte gemarcod<br>geseted and gesæd<br>hwám thæt sweord ge-<br>worht<br>irena cyst<br>æ'rest wære<br>wreothen-hylt and<br>wyrm-fáh." | "So was on the mountings<br><br>of bright gold<br>through rune-staves<br>rightly marked<br>set and said<br>for whom that sword wrought,<br><br>of irons choicest,<br>first was,<br>wreathed hilt, and worm-<br>adorned." |

The ringed sword, the belted wreathed hilt, the worm-like ornaments, the rune-stave legend, all are here.

I may notice here, on account of the peculiar form of the S, and of the name which it bears, the following gold solidus or mancus:—

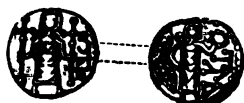


*Obv.* Bust to the right, and blundered legend, copied from a coin of Honorius.

*Rev.* An emperor holding labarum in his right hand and victory in his left, trampling on a prostrate foe; legend in runes SCANOMODU, and other letters without meaning.

It is not known in what part of England it was found. It has evidently been furnished with a loop for attachment to a necklace. The only peculiarity of the legend calling for remark is the second rune (I. 6), and the third (IV. 1), the same as in the English and Alamannic futhorcs.

The Sibertswold sceatta presents on its obverse a figure standing holding two sceptres, or crosses, with the runes UAD; on its reverse, Victory, winged, holding a



wreath, and three runes, of which the value is problematical, and, consequently, the meaning also. The first is not the same as, but may be compared with, the form of II. 7 in MS., Munich, 14,436; if it be intended for this rune its value would probably be A; the second wants one line to complete its resemblance to IV. 5 (*cweorth*), and to another rune in MS. Galba, A 2, of which the name is *et*; the third is, perhaps, a variation of I. 8. AQW is a possible reading, but not a complete word.

From the type of the obverse,—identical with that of a series of sceattas which I have elsewhere assigned to Ine, king of the West Saxons, and to Nunna, his kinsman, king of the South Saxons,—I have no hesitation in assigning this little coin to another king of the South Saxons, who lived about the same time as Nunna, *i. e.* the beginning of the eighth century. He is known to us only by charters, in which his name appears in a Latinized form, *Wattus*. In his time the relations between the royal families of Sussex and Kent were as intimate, as those of the latter with the Mercian princes half a century earlier. A.D. 685 the South Saxons espoused the cause of Eadric against the king of Kent, his uncle, Hlothhere, whom they defeated and mortally wounded. Immediately on this, Ceadwalla, not yet king, invaded Sussex, and slew the king Æthelwealh. Repulsed by the successors of Æthelwealh, Berhthun and Andhun, he returned in the following year, de-



feated and slew Berhthun, then invaded Kent and slew Eadric. This war, I have no doubt, was undertaken on behalf of Richard, the heir of Hlothhere, and I have elsewhere noticed a curious sceatta, which, I believe, was issued by the joint authority of Richard and Ceadwalla's brother, Mul, whom the Kentishmen burned to death, A.D. 687. Eadric's brothers, Wihtræd and Swæbhard, became kings of Kent, A.D. 691; and, three years later, the blood feud for Mul's murder was settled by the Kentishmen, and Wihtræd was allowed to reign for thirty years in peace. Nunna and Wattus were his contemporaries.

I have now completed my task. The different futhorcs which were in use amongst different nations or tribes of the great Teutonic race, have passed in review before us, and I have taken occasion to notice our Kentish relics, as each futhorc or Runic alphabet seemed to afford an illustration thereof. The sceattas from Sarre and Birchington are inscribed with the runes of the "Angulisc" futhorc; the Sibertswold sceatta presents traces probably of the futhorc of the South Saxons; the Thorsbjerg shield-boss, the Dalby diadem, the Himlingoie, Etelhem and Nordendorf brooches, the Cöslin and Skodborg bracteates, the Sandwich stones, and the Gilton sword-hilt represent, I have no doubt, the futhorc of the Jutes. To this, perhaps, also may be referred the coins of *Aniwulufu* and *Scanomodu*, but I believe the Dover stone must belong to another race.

The thanks of all who have taken an interest in what I have written are due to my good friend Professor Stephens, who has most generously allowed me to make use of so large a number of the illustrations of his magnificent work, and himself superintended the printing of them in Copenhagen; and to Messrs. Thiele for the loan of the blocks of the Bildsö-moss sword, the most valuable, in my opinion, of all the illustrations of this paper.

## APPENDIX.

WITHIN a few feet of the spot where the rune-inscribed horn was found in 1734, another had been found in 1639. Both horns were formed in the same way, with an inner case half gold, half silver, and an outer one of pure gold; both were decorated in the same manner, with figures formed by engraving or punching the gold, and with others separately cast, and soldered on; yet it is evident that they were not the work of the same hand; it is probable that they belonged to different peoples.

On the horn of 1639, the punched ornaments consisted of long fishes, and snakes, (proper, or with human heads and arms), and these made before the relief ornaments, (many of which cross, or interfere with, them), were attached. On that of 1734 they were short fishes, and animals of different kinds, stars and crosses, and these serving to fill up the spaces between the relief ornaments, not one of which interfered with them. On the former, Professor Steenstrup, (as cited by Professor Stephens), thinks that two races were represented amongst the relief figures, one of them the almost neckless Makrocephali, an indication that this at least might have come from the Crimea; these do not appear in the published engravings of the latter. Two or three ornaments were common to both, so that the maker of the horn of 1734 had either seen the other, or had derived them from the same source as the maker of the other. I think the horn of 1734 was the later of the two, on account of the two kinds of ornament being either of the same time, or the punching later than the embossing, (and perhaps by a different hand), whereas on tha. 1639 the embossing is clearly the result of afterthought.

The most remarkable feature, however, of the horn of 1639, and that which especially distinguished it from its companion, was a legend not in runes, but in zoomorphic characters, in two lines (Pl. 22, fig. 1). As an illustration of this kind of writing, I give another of fourteen characters, or seven repeated, and apparently two words, on a silver cup, found at Himlingöie (Pl. 22, fig. 2). That these are really legends no one who examines them attentively will be disposed to deny.

This peculiarity, a legend composed of zoomorphic letters, has not yet been noticed on monuments of the prehistoric age. Indeed it is so rare, that besides these two instances, I know of none other certain. Yet it characterizes remarkably the illuminated MSS. of the Longobards in Italy, and the Visigoths in Spain, in the seventh and eighth centuries. In these MSS. frequently whole lines, of the headings of the principal pages, are written in letters composed of serpents, one or more fishes, one or more birds, quadrupeds, or different combinations of these animals, one sort with another, or even with men; and these not distorted, like the initials in some Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS., but drawn in natural forms, according to the ability of the artist; nor mere decorative accessories, not interfering with the proper shapes of the letters, as in MSS. of the later

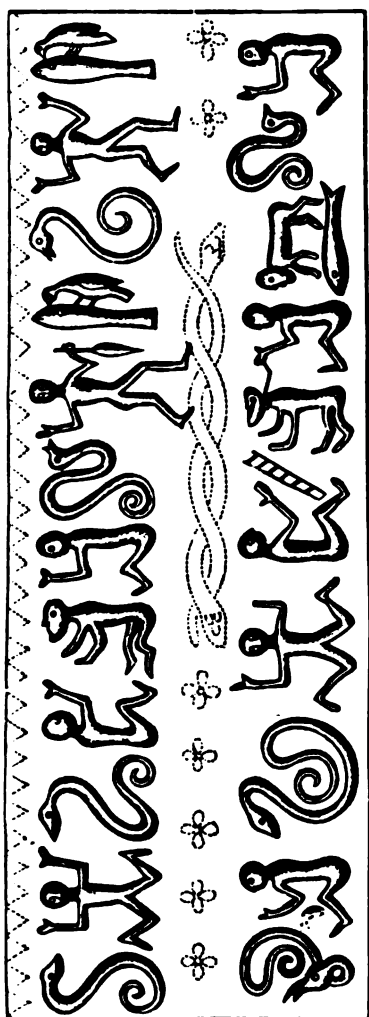


Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

ZOOMORPHIC INSCRIPTIONS.



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# SCLAVONIC ALPHABETS.

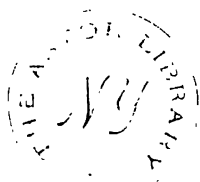
Glagol.

Cyr.

Glagol.

Cyr.

|                |           |                   |   |              |              |      |   |
|----------------|-----------|-------------------|---|--------------|--------------|------|---|
| <i>Az</i>      | <i>a</i>  | Ⲁ Ⲁⲁ              |   | <i>Uk</i>    | <i>u</i>     | Ⲱ Ⲱⲱ |   |
| <i>Buky</i>    | <i>b</i>  | Ⲃ Ⲃⲃ              | Ⲅ | <i>Ferē</i>  | <i>f</i>     | Ⲇ Ⲇⲇ |   |
| <i>Vedi</i>    | <i>v</i>  | Ⲉ Ⲉⲉ              |   | <i>Chēr</i>  | <i>ch</i>    | Ⲋ Ⲋⲋ |   |
| <i>Glagol'</i> | <i>g</i>  | Ⲍ Ⲍⲍ              |   | <i>o'</i>    | <i>o'</i>    | Ⲏ Ⲏⲏ |   |
| <i>Dobro</i>   | <i>d</i>  | Ⲑ Ⲑⲑ              |   | <i>Šta</i>   | <i>št</i>    | Ⲓⲓⲓⲓ | Ⲕ |
| <i>Estē</i>    | <i>e</i>  | Ⲕ Ⲕⲕ              |   | <i>Ci</i>    | <i>c</i>     | Ⲗ Ⲗⲗ | Ⲕ |
| <i>Živēte</i>  | <i>ž</i>  | Ⲙ Ⲙⲙ              | Ⲛ | <i>Čeru</i>  | <i>č</i>     | Ⲙ Ⲙⲙ | Ⲕ |
| <i>Zelo</i>    | <i>z</i>  | Ⲝ Ⲝⲝ              | Ⲟ | <i>Ša</i>    | <i>š</i>     | Ⲡⲡⲡ  | Ⲕ |
| <i>Žemlja</i>  | <i>z</i>  | Ⲟ Ⲟⲟ              |   | <i>Jex</i>   | <i>ž</i>     | Ⲣ Ⲣⲣ | Ⲕ |
| <i>Ite</i>     | <i>i</i>  | Ⲡ Ⲡⲡ              |   | <i>Jerek</i> | <i>ž</i>     | Ⲣⲣⲣⲣ | Ⲕ |
| <i>I'</i>      | <i>i</i>  | Ⲣ Ⲣⲣ              |   | <i>Jet'</i>  | <i>č</i>     | ⲢⲢⲢⲢ | Ⲕ |
| <i>Děru'</i>   | <i>dj</i> | ⲣ ⲣⲥ              |   | <i>Ju</i>    | <i>ju</i>    | ⲣⲣⲣ  |   |
| <i>Kako</i>    | <i>k</i>  | Ⲥ <sup>ic</sup> Ⲥ |   | <i>Eis</i>   | <i>eng</i>   | Ⲧ Ⲧ  | Ⲕ |
| <i>Ijudi</i>   | <i>l</i>  | Ⲑⲑⲑⲑ              |   | <i>As</i>    | <i>ang</i>   | Ⲩ Ⲩ  | Ⲕ |
| <i>Myslāte</i> | <i>m</i>  | Ⲡⲡⲡⲡⲡ             |   | <i>Jes</i>   | <i>jeng</i>  | Ⲩ    |   |
| <i>Nus</i>     | <i>n</i>  | Ⲧ Ⲧⲧ              |   | <i>Jas</i>   | <i>jeng'</i> | Ⲩ    |   |
| <i>On</i>      | <i>o</i>  | Ⲕ Ⲕⲕ              |   | <i>Ksi</i>   | <i>x</i>     |      |   |
| <i>Pokoj</i>   | <i>p</i>  | Ⲧⲧ Ⲧⲧ             |   | <i>Psi</i>   | <i>ps</i>    |      |   |
| <i>Rci</i>     | <i>r</i>  | Ⲋ Ⲋⲋ              |   | <i>Thita</i> | <i>th</i>    | Ⲕ Ⲕ  |   |
| <i>Slovo</i>   | <i>s</i>  | Ⲍ Ⲍⲍ              |   | <i>Išica</i> | <i>y</i>     | Ⲍ Ⲍ  |   |
| <i>Tverdo</i>  | <i>t</i>  | Ⲟ Ⲟⲟ              |   | <i>Ůn</i>    | <i>üng</i>   |      | Ⲕ |
| <i>Tery</i>    | <i>t'</i> |                   | Ⲛ | <i>Dž</i>    | <i>dž</i>    |      | Ⲕ |



Middle Age; but themselves forming the entire body of the letters, so that nothing appears but these simple, or compound, zoomorphic types. An Evangelium in the Bodleian, which by its writing might seem to be of French origin, but by its illuminated letters is connected with the Longobardic school, presents two fine examples of the peculiarity I am speaking of, in its first page, and the heading of the Gospel for Easter. (See the latter in Westwood's "*Palæographia Sacra Pictoria*," Pl. 28.)

I know of nothing parallel to these save the MSS. of the Armenian school. In an Evangelium in the library of H.R.H. the late Duke of Sussex, the first line of each Gospel is in characters formed entirely of birds, (for that of S. John, see Westwood, Pl. 9). As an indication how late the taste has prevailed in the sacred books of the Armenian church, I may mention that I have one before me (printed in 1702), in which the letters of two headings, and many of the initial letters throughout the volume are composed of birds, beasts, and fishes.

When I observed the nature of the double band of figures on the horn of 1639, my first thought was to apply to the characters the runes of the futhorc, but I saw at once that this system would not explain them, although one of them closely resembled *wen*. It was equally clear that they were not alphabetic, i. e. Greek or Roman. In my examination of the old Northern inscriptions, I had been struck by the indications of Slavonic influence in some of their inflectional forms; and, in my investigation of the origin of runes, the conviction had long ago come to my mind that the Slaves had their own system of writing before their conversion to Christianity; yet I did not for some time think of applying the Slavic letters to the characters of the horn legend. When at last I did, I was astonished to find how easy it was to identify these characters with the letters of the Glagolitic system; notwithstanding that the horn dates probably from the fourth or fifth century, and that the earliest Glagolitic MSS. are of the eleventh, separated from it by an interval of time, quite sufficient to have altered or corrupted the ancient forms of the characters, and rendered them very unlike those which the horn presents; considerable variation appearing in the two forms of Glagolitic, which are separated by no such interval; and notwithstanding the presumption that letters freely written on vellum would naturally vary very much from their prototypes written on stone, wood, or metal.

The Eastern Slaves were converted to Christianity in the ninth century by S. Cyril (or Constantine), from whom the alphabet, in which he caused the sacred books to be written, is called *Cyrillic*. Into this all the letters of the Greek alphabet enter; and thirteen simple, and some compound characters are added, to express sounds foreign to the Greek language. To these the Servian alphabet adds one character to express the sound *dzk*, and the Wallachian this, and another for the sound *ung*.

The Western Slaves received Christianity from Roman missionaries, and their S. Jerome translated the Scriptures into the Dalmatian language, using for the expression thereof the system of writing which is called *Glagolitic*, of which there are two distinct varieties, one rounded,

the other for the most part angular. This system consists of thirty-six simple, and some compound, letters, now arranged in the order of the Greek alphabet, but probably once commencing with the fourth, *Glagol*, and hence named. In this there is no further resemblance to Greek or Roman letters than in one form of *Myslita*, one form of *Fert*, and *Thita*. In the accompanying table I give the Glagolitic alphabet entire, and by its side the peculiar Cyrillic letters. I have not thought it necessary to give those which are evidently Greek, nor those which express the sounds *yu*, *yeng*, *yong*, and which are merely compounded of others. The peculiar Servian and Wallachian letters are placed at the end.

Both alphabets have the same names for their letters, yet a comparison of the Non-Hellenic Cyrillic letters with their Glagolitic correspondents, shows a complete identity in two letters only, *sha* and *shita*. The others are so different that it seems impossible to refer them to a common origin.

Here, then, we have one system of writing complete, and the remains of another; both used to express the old Slavonic language, both having claims to be considered as of Slavonic origin, yet essentially distinct. In the absence of all independent evidence, older than the tenth century, can we admit their claims? can we suppose them variations of one original, the result of gradual corruption of the primitive type, during the centuries which elapsed between the first settlements of the Slaves in the provinces of the Eastern and Western empires, and their conversion to Christianity? Or may we suppose that one is Slavonic, the other borrowed by the Slaves from some people whom they conquered? I think the Non-Hellenic element in the Cyrillic alphabet must be Slavonic; whether the Glagolitic alphabet is also Slavonic is a point on which great light will be thrown, if it shall appear that the legend on the horn can be interpreted by means of the old Slavonic language, regard being had to the distance of time, which separates the horn from the oldest MS. monuments of the language, five centuries at least. My readers will judge how far the following attempt to identify the horn characters with the Glagolitic letters is successful.

Of the twenty-two characters which compose this legend, there are certainly six (perhaps seven) pairs and one quartet, so that the number of distinct characters is only twelve or thirteen. I observe that the same sequences appear in the 8th and 9th, 11th and 12th, and in the 4th 5th and 6th, 17th 18th and 19th. In the latter triplet I observe that the 18th and 19th are tied together, and as there is not the same minute accuracy in this representation that would be found in one made in the present day, I conclude that the 5th and 6th were probably also tied. I identify them as follows.—

1. *I* (eleventh letter in the alphabet).
- 2 and 16. *Sa*.
3. *Glagol*.
- 4 and 17. Comparing these with 14 and 22, I take the former to be *Es*, the latter *Est*.
- 5, 6, and 18, 19, are apparently the letter *Uk*, which looks like a compound of *On* and *Est*.



7 and 21. *Dobro*.

8 and 11. *Ize*. In the former the weapon held in the hand may indicate a composition of this character with the second form of *Jerék*.

9 and 12. *Nas*.

10 and 15. *R'ci*, or the latter may be *Cher*.

13. Perhaps *Zemlja*.

20. Possibly *Ljudi*. I feel less confidence in this, 2, and 13, than in the rest. The small ladder after 17, (engraved, not embossed like the other letters), has more the appearance of an accent than of a letter.

The resemblance of most of these characters is quite satisfactory, to me at least; and I do not think the others differ more from those with which I have compared them, than do some of the characters in one of the Glagolitic alphabets from their correspondents in the other. The legend thus read can certainly be pronounced, and that is a great point in its favour.

### ISGEŅUDINRINZECHS'ENGULDE.

Of course the sound of the vowels 8 and 11 must have been different from that of *i*; in fact, in the Cyrillic alphabet, *Ize* is represented by the Greek *Heta* and *I* by *Iota*. The former, then, may be read *ē*, and for *udin* and *rin* we may read *udēn* and *rēn*; and here again, as I have said above, the vowel in the latter may be a modification of that in the former.

Knowing, as I do, very little of the old Slavonic language, I cannot pretend to say whether this legend can be explained by its aid, or not; and I have already expressed a doubt as to the Slavic origin of the Glagolitic alphabet. I am surprised, however, to find of how easy and natural an explanation it is susceptible by the aid of Teutonic grammar.

The resemblance between the words *Isgeng* and *Zechs'eng* and the ordinary Teutonic patronymic in *ing* is very striking, and suggests "Uden son of Isg," and "Uld son of Zechs'," with *Uldes* apparently in the oblique case. We want a verb, of course, and *rēn* exactly corresponds to the form of præterites of the VIIIth conjugation, (in which the vowel of the present is *ei* in Gothic, and *ī* in all other dialects; that of the præterite *ai=e* in Gothic, *ei* in O.H.G. and O.N., *ē* in O.S. and O.F., but *ē* in O.E.; and that of the participle *i* in all the dialects). Of verbs with initial *r* we have usually an aspirated and a simple form: of this we have the former in the O.S. *hrīnan*, *hrēn*, O.E. *hrīnan*, *hrān*, *hrinen* and the latter in Layamon's participle *i-rinen*, with the meaning "to touch," "strike," "adorn." Thus we obtain, "Uden son of Isg adorned (this) for Uld son of Zechs'," and even the names may be compared with Teutonic names, Woden or Odin, Oisc, Wald, and Seaxa.

If this be right, it will appear that a Teuton, the maker of this horn, chose to record his work in characters foreign to the futhorc; and here I seem to gain an insight into the meaning of the lines, (quoted by Professor Stephens), relative to a horn, which may be believed to have been of the same class as this.

"Váru í horni  
hverskyno stafir  
ristnir ok rothnir

"Were on the horn  
various letters,  
cut and reddened.

rada ek ne mattak  
 lyngfiskr langr  
 lands Haddingja  
 ax oëkorit  
 innleid dyra."

I might not explain them,  
 long lingfish  
 of land of Haddings,  
 ears uncut,  
 bowels of beasts."

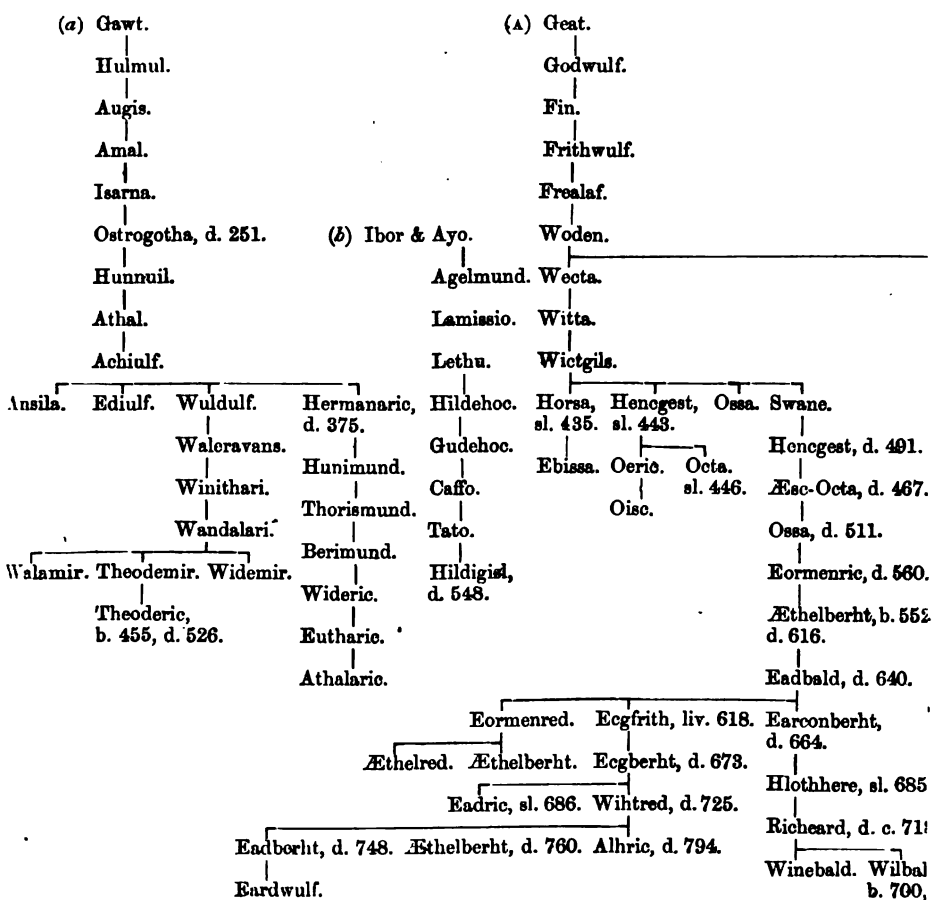
Gudrunarkvida, II. 23.

He could not interpret them because they were not ordinary runes, but zoomorphic, and perhaps from some system of writing other than the futhorc.

The Himlingöe cup seems to differ very much from the horns in workmanship. The characters are stamped up from behind on thin plates of gold, which are fastened to the cup with silver nails. Each plate, I think, contains two words,—one of three, the other of four letters,—but one of them contains in addition two heads which look like a stop, and which seem to mark the commencement of the legend. I know of no alphabet with which these characters can be connected.

Unable, therefore, at present, to offer a complete explanation of these legends, I must be satisfied with calling attention to the fact, that these zoomorphic characters were in use in Denmark in the fifth century. So the Longobards in Italy, when they had adopted Romanesque writing, did but apply to the illustration of their sacred books a tradition which they had brought with them from the banks of the Elbe. But we have seen that there is some reason to believe that the horn on which these zoomorphic characters appear came from the northern shores of the Black Sea, and on its southern shores we have seen the same taste prevailing down to a very late period, if not to our own day, in the illustration of Armenian books. There is so much identity of feeling in the Longobardic and Armenian letters of this kind, although belonging to languages and systems of writing altogether distinct, as to force us to look to a common original for both, and that Asiatic.

The subject is very interesting, but I will not now pursue it farther, than to remark that there are two types of Teutonic brooches which seem to owe their origin to the same fancy. The little parrots, which are most frequently found in the graves of the Franks, occasionally in those of neighbouring nations, were originally, I conceive, intended for the initial letter of the national name, and this most of them very well represent. Of course there are degradations of the original type, in which this idea seems quite lost, and there are other bird-shaped brooches, which have evidently a different motive. Again, the S-shaped brooches, as they have been called, most frequently found in the graves of Swabia, and other districts of South Germany, seem to me to represent the rune *EoA* or *IA*, the initial of the national name of the Juthings.

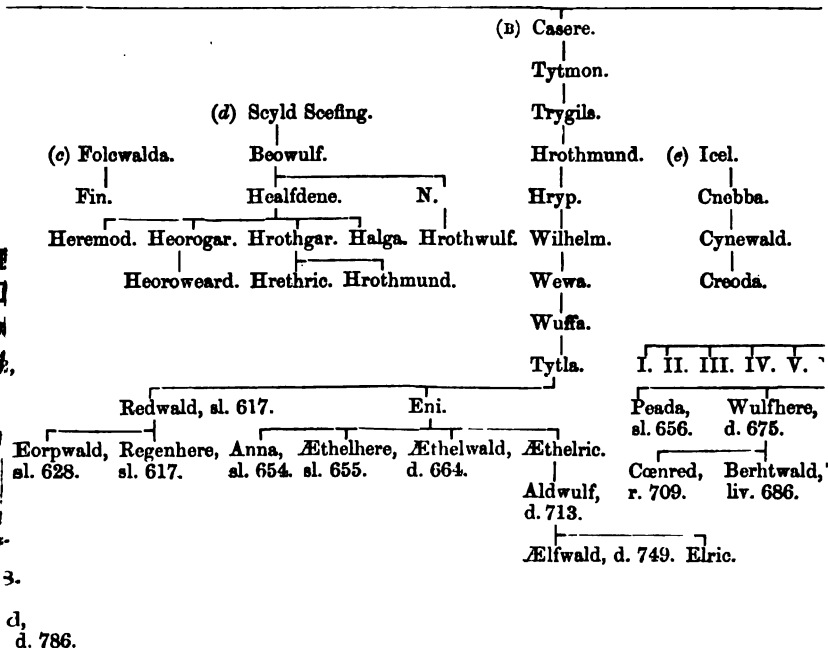


From English, Danish,  
and Swedish Chroni-  
cles.

| A. Genealogy of the Kings of Kent (Æscings). |   |   |                                  |
|----------------------------------------------|---|---|----------------------------------|
| B.                                           | " | " | E. Anglia (Wivings or Wuffings). |
| C.                                           | " | " | Mercia.                          |
| D.                                           | " | " | Deira.                           |
| E.                                           | " | " | Bernicia (Beornicas).            |
| F.                                           | " | " | Wessex (Gewissas).               |
| G.                                           | " | " | Essex.                           |
| H.                                           | " | " | Lindsey (Lindisfaras).           |
| I.                                           | " | " | Denmark.                         |
| K.                                           | " | " | Sweden.                          |

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From Jordanis, Warne-  
frid, and Beowulf.

- a. Genealogy of the Kings of the Ostrogoths.
- b. " " " " Longobards.
- c. Folcwalda and Fin (the latter cotemporary with Hengest II.). lan
- d. Scyldings (Scyld supposed to have settled in Northumbria, A.D. 375; ald
- e. Line of the Iclings (supposed collateral with c).
- f. Waelsings (Sigemund cotemporary with Healfdene and Heremod.)
- g. Wonred and his sons (the latter subjects of Hygelac; Wulf supposed)
- h. Geats or Hrethlings (Hygelac cotemporary with Offa, c; called nepl
- i. Wægmundings in Norfolk (Beowulf reigned in Durham after the Scy
- k. Sweos (cotemporary with Hygelac and Beowulf; supposed to have b

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## CHARTERS OF CUMBWELL PRIORY.

*(Continued from Vol. VI. p. 250.)*

## LIII.

[Date, prob. circa 1180.<sup>1</sup>]

EUSTACE DE MEREWORTH grants a rent-charge of five shillings  
MEREWORTH, and another of twelve-pence, to the Abbey of  
Cumbwell. The former is the grant which the preceding Charter  
confirms.

..... quod ego EUSTACHIUS concessi domui de  
Cumbwell et fratribus ibidem deo ..... MAREWR  
solidos et xii denarios apud clivum annuatim pro animabus  
solidos ad Pentecostem et EADWARDUS filius KECH ad festum  
Sancti Michaelis ..... ROBERTUS filius SEDEHEN  
patris et ..... et feminarum mearum et pro me  
ipso. Ex his autem prefatis v solidis EGELIUS .....

<sup>1</sup> At least as early as this, by evidence of the handwriting. I have placed this Charter after the preceding, though anterior in date, as being in its mutilated condition chiefly intelligible by the light of the earlier one. Very nearly half of the parchment is torn away and lost, the right hand portion, including fortunately just so much as to preserve the seal, being all that remains. We gather from the two Charters that Eustace de Mereworth had two sons, Stephen and Robert, the former of whom, as the eldest, he calls in his own Charter his "heir," in spite of the maxim—"nemo est hæres viventis." But Stephen would appear to have predeceased his father, and Roger, the younger, to have been eventually the heir. See also the Fine between this Roger and the Prior of Leeds in 1214, concerning the advowson of Mereworth Church. Arch. Cant. vi. p. 230.

The animal represented on the seal of Eustace is probably intended for the same as that on the seal of his son appended to Charter LII.—apparently a mule.

vi<sup>d</sup>. et relicta HERICUN iii<sup>d</sup>. et ad eundem terminum . . . . .  
 Hos vero prefatos v solidos de MAREW. STEPHANUS hæres meus t a q  
 mecum . . . . . in elemosinam optulit. His testibus imse  
 ROGEEUS filius CELFW. ORDRICUS BARUM ALFEICUS filius ESTME WI.  
 SALED JUVENIS JOHANNES filius ORDM. LIFWINUS SMART . . . . . quis e  
 . . . . . Sacristan de PECHAM TOMA Clerico SIMONE clerico de quod  
 HARDEES ROBERTO Sacristano de EST PECHAM . . . . . ec. A  
 de ROCHEIE et hoc vidente HALIMOT. io me  
 ocide:  
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*In dorso*, in contemporary hand: "East. de M . . ."

1st. wife=Eustace de Mereworth=2nd. wife.

..... Circa 1180. ....

Stephen.

Alive circa 1180.

#### LIV.

[Date, before 1215.]

WILLIAM son of WILLIAM DE DETLING grants to the Abbey of  
 Cumbwell 33 acres of his demesne land adjoining their own land

<sup>1</sup> This being our date for the death of Stephen de Thurnham, who  
 is a witness.

*at a quit-rent of 3 shillings, and in consideration of 4 marks to himself and 2 bezants to MATILDA his wife.*

WILLELMUS filius WILLELMI DE DETLINGE omnibus hominibus suis et amicis tam Francis quam Anglis salutem. Sciant—etc., quod ego WILLELMUS filius WILLELMI DE DETLINGE concessi—*haec* Abbati et Conventui de Cumbwell xxx<sup>iii</sup> acras de domo meo que jacent juxta terram eorum supra montes a parte occidentali tenendas—etc., reddendò per annum iii<sup>or</sup> solidos pro anni servitio scilicet ad natale domini xii d. ad pascam xii d. ad festum Sancti Johannis Baptiste xii d. ad festum Sancti Michaelis xii d. Et pro hac concessione et confirmatione predicti Abbas et Monasterius dederunt mihi Willelmo iii<sup>or</sup> marcas argenti et bea<sup>ta</sup> MATILDE uxori mee duo visantia. Ipse verò Willelmus et heredes sui warantizabunt nobis predictam terram contra omnes homines tam Xtianos quam Judeos. Hiis testibus WILHELMUS DE TORNEHAM RODBERTO fratre ejus MICHAEL DE BURN ELVORDO clerico GERVASIO et ROGGERO PHILIPPO DE DETLING clerico DE DETLING LAMBERTO DE DETLING ELVORDO WILLELMO TURRICO LEFWORDO DE DETLING EASTMUNDO et DRIU et ALANO DE TORNEHAM RODBERTO filio JOHANNIS et multis aliis.

[Seal lost.]

*in dorso* : "Will. de Dedling," and by Le Neve, "Carta Willi. de Detling Canonicis Cumbwell terr. in Detling."

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William de Detling=

William=Matilda.

[circ. 1212.]

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LV.

[Dated 12 Ed. I., 1284.]

WILLIAM DE DETTLINGE son and heir of WILLIAM DE DETTLINGE who holds to the Priory of Cumbwell all his claim in a certain wood which his ancestor STEPHEN DE THORNEHAM once held of his ancestors.

heresant—etc. quod ego WILLIELMUS DE DETTLINGE filius et heres Willi de D . . . confirmavi et ex toto pro me et heredi-  
L. VIII. T

bus meis in perpetuum quietum clamavi deo et ecclesie beate  
 mar. . . . .servientibus et eorum successoribus in liberam etc  
 elemosinam totum jus et clamium . . . . . bosco quem STEPHANUS  
 DE THORNEHAM quondam habuit et tenuit de predecessori-  
 bus meis in qu . . . . . mandam quam habui vel aliquo modo habere  
 potui vel heredes mei in posterum versus predictam . . . . . suc-  
 cessores de herbergagio terrarum et tenementorum que et quod  
 predicti canonici de me h . . . . . LINGE et omnem demandam  
 quam habui vel habere potui ego vel heredes mei de r . . . .  
 nomine predictorum tenementorum et terrarum predictarum  
 que et quas de me et heredibus . . . . . habent et habebunt  
 in perpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium hec presens scriptum  
 sigilli mei . . . . . Regis Edwardi filii Regis H. duodcimo (scilicet)  
 Hiis testibus JOHANNES DE CAPELLA JOHANNES GER . . . . . DE  
 HOK JOHANNES DE LA WARE HAMONE DE LA DUNE WIL-  
 FAUKES HABRAHAM LE HA . . . . . DELLI LAURENCIO DE ENGHEN  
 et multis aliis.



*In dorso*: "Carra Willi. de Dettling militis," and by  
 Neve, "Canonicis Cumbwell bosci quod Stephanus  
 Thornham tenuit de eo. 12 E 1<sup>st</sup>."

---

William de Dettlinge=

William de Dettlinge.  
 Son and heir, 1284.

## LVI.

[Date, prob. shortly after 1218.<sup>1</sup>]

ALICE COUNTESS of EWE or AUGI, in her widowhood, grants to the Priory of Cumbwell the tithe of the bread and ale, expended in her house in the Rape of HASTINGS, for the good of her own soul and that of RALPH DE ISSODON her late husband.

Sciunt—etc. quod ego ALIZ COMITTISA AUGI<sup>2</sup> in viduitate liberâ potestate meâ constituta dedi—etc., Deo et ecclesie beate Marie Magdalene de Cumbwell et canonicis—etc., pro salute anime mee et bone memorie RADULFI DE ISSODON quondam viri mei et pro animabus omnium antecessorum et heredum eorum decimam totius panis et coquine que expendentur in domo mea in Rapo de HASTINGES ubicunque fuero ad cultum eum—habendam etc. in liberam etc. elemosinam de me et redditibus meis in perpetuum. Et ego predicta ALIZ et heredes ei warantizabimus—etc. Et ut hec—etc. presentes literas illo meo signatas predictis canonicis tradere dignum dixi. Et testibus SIMONE DE ECCHINGHAM REGINALDO DE BERNEBAL WILLELMO DE GREDLEE LAURENTIO DE MENDEFELD WILLELMO DE WOEHAM RICARDO DE ESBERNEHAM MILITES HERBERTO DE BERGESSE ANDREA DE OXERODE GALFREDO DE RACCHEL ROGERO CROHERST et multis aliis.

[Seal lost.]

On dorso: "Al. Com. Aug. de decim," and by Le Neve, "in domo sua expendend. infra Rapam de Hastynge canonicis Cumbwell. Alicia Comitissa Angi vidua Radi de Issodon."

---

Alice, Countess of Ewe=Ralph de Issodon.

Death of Ralph de Issodon.

Alice, Countess of Ewe, was daughter and heiress of Henry, Count of Ewe, in Normandy, to whose grandfather the Conqueror had given the Rape of Hastings. Her husband, Ralph de Issodon, or Ysondon, was for his life Count of Ewe in her right. She appears to have survived him as late as 1245. (See Dugd. Bar. i. 137.)

## LVII.

[Date, prob. circa 1220.<sup>1</sup>]

WILLIAM DE PLUNTON grants to the Priory of Cumbwell his land in CRANBROOK called EILLMEEGGE, which BRUNIGG and ORDMAR CUPARIUS held of him, on condition that the monks keep his anniversary as for a brother of their order.

Sciunt—etc. quod ego WILLELMUS DE PLUNTON intuitu dei et pro salute anime mee et antecessorum et heredum meorum dedi—etc. deo et ecclesie sancte marie magdalene de Cumbwell et canonicis—etc. in liberam—etc. elemosinam Totam terram quam BRUNIGGUS et ORDMARUS CUPARIUS et antecessores sui tenuerunt de me et antecessoribus meis in parochia de CRANEBROC que vocatur EILLMEEGGE cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in boscho et plano que saltem juxta terram de CUMDENNE ex parte orientali. Quam terram prefatus ORDMARUS et heredes sui habebunt et tenebunt et amdicta ecclesia faciendo eidem servitium quod mihi et antecessoribus meis facere solebant. Ita sane et plene quod nunc ipsis mihi vel heredibus meis inde retinui in posterum Salvo servitio domini Regis quod idem ORDMARUS et heredes facient. Et Conventus de Cumbwell die anniversarii facient servitium sicut pro fratre suo. Et ego W. DE PLUNTON et heredes mei warrantizabimus—etc. Et ut hec—etc., signum meo corroboravi. Hiis testibus EILWARDO CARPENTARIO WILLELMO filio ejus RADULFO DE BERINDENNE GODWINO PING SIMONE LOVEL WLUARDO serviente WILLELMO POTIN RICARDO clerico multis aliis.

[Seal hopelessly broken.]

*In dorso*: "Willi de Plunton," and by Le Neve, "donum terræ in Cranebroke in Kanc. Canonicis Cumbwelle."

---

 Eilward Carpentarius—
 

---

 William.
 

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<sup>1</sup> By evidence of the handwriting.

## LVIII.

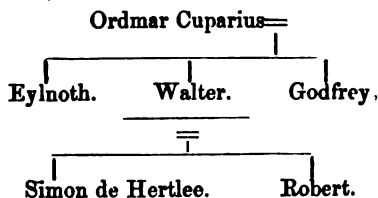
[Date, prob. circa 1240.<sup>1</sup>]

*EYLNOTH, son of ORDMAR CUPARIUS, grants to the Priory of Cumbwell a rent-charge of three pence on his tenement held by his brothers WALTER and GODFREY.*

Sciant—etc. quod ego EYLNOTHUS filius ORDMARI CUPARII  
 ita dei ededi—etc. Deo et ecclesie Sancte marie Magdalene de Cumb-  
 meorum well et canonicis—etc., in liberam—etc. elemosinam tres  
 de Cumbobolos redditus quos WALTERUS et GODEFRIDUS fratres mei et  
 m Totaheredes eorum solvent annuatim dictis canonicis ad festum  
 tecessori Sancti Michaelis quos consuerint michi reddere de Tenemento  
 parochquod tenuerunt de me. Et ego predictus EYLNOTHUS et  
 omnibheredes mei warantizabimus—etc. Et ut mea donatio—etc.,  
 em jactsigilli mei impressione roboravi. Hiis testibus HENRICO DE  
 um terraSPONLEE SIMONE DE HERTLEE ROBERTO fratre ejus RIULFO WAN  
 rebunt RADULFO pistore RADULFO filio EMME WILLELMO filio EADMUNDI  
 ti et antROBERTO COC OSBERTO CASTELEIN et multis aliis.



*In dorso: "Carta Eilnothi de iii. ob. redditus," added later, "Cuperii." and by Le Neve, "Canonicis Cumbwell facta."*



<sup>1</sup> By evidence of the handwriting.

## LIX.

[Date, circ. 1220.<sup>1</sup>]

ROBERT DE ELDEHAM *grants to the Priory of Cumbwell a rent-charge of two shillings, payable annually at his house of ELDEHAM.*

Sciant—etc. quod ego ROBERTUS DE ELDEHAM pro salute anime mee et animarum antecessorum et heredum meorum dedi—etc. deo et ecclesie Beate marie magdalene de Cumbwell et canonicis—etc. in liberam—etc. elemosinam duos solidos redditus solvendos annuatim certo eorum nuncio infra octavas Sancti Michaelis apud domum meam de ELDEHAM. Ita quidem quod si ego vel heredes mei defecerimus in solutione dictorum duorum solidorum infra dictas octavas dabimus nomine pene duodecim denarios simul cum principali redditu. Et ut hec—etc., sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus Domino ANSELMO vicario de WROTEHAM<sup>2</sup> BARTHOLOMEO capellano ejusdem loci THOMA DE ELDEHAM WILLIELMO DE ELDEHAM WALTERO preposito RADULFO DE CUMBWELL HENRICO serviente de THORNEHAM WILLELMO serviente de LOPHEEST ADAMO ROBERTO JOHANNE HENRICO servientibus de Cumbwell et multis aliis.

[Seal lost.]

*In dorso* : "Robertus de Eldam," and by Le Neve, "redditus 2 solidorum per ann. apud Eldeham, Kanc."

## LX.

[Dated 1245.]

JOHN (DE GODINTONE) *son of ROBERT DE ELDEHAM confirms the preceding grant of his father and adds to it two shillings from himself.*

Sciant—etc., quod ego JOHANNES filius ROBERTI DE ELDEHAM concessi—etc. pro salute anime mee et animarum antecessorum

<sup>1</sup> By evidence of handwriting.

<sup>2</sup> Note the new Vicar of Wrotham to add to Hasted's list. The "Bartholomeus capellanus ejusdem loci" was probably Priest of one of the Chantries, of which there still remain evidences in the structure of Wrotham Church.



meorum donationem quam ROBERTUS pater meus fecit Deo et ecclesie Beate marie magdelene de Cumbwell et canonicis—etc. de duobus solidis annui redditus solvendis annuatim eorum certo nuncio infra octavas Sancti Michaelis apud domum meam de ELDEHAM sicut carta predicti ROBERTI patris mei testatur. Dedi etiam et concessi et hac carta confirmavi dictis canonicis de Cumbwell alios duos solidos redditus in liberam—etc. elemosinam solvendos predictis termino loco et nuncio simul cum primis duobus solidis quos habent de dono patris mei. Et ut predicta donatio mea et confirmatio facta de donatione patris mei rata permaneat—etc., sigilli mei appositione roboravi Hiis testibus ADAMO DE HOCH ROBERTO COC WILLELMO HELION ROGERO ROBERTO GILBERTO (Gō) WILLELMO JOHANNE tunc servientibus de Cumbwell Et aliis. Datum apud Cumbwell anno domini m°.cc°.xl°v°. ydus Januarii.



*In dorso*: "Carta Johannis de Eldeham," and by Le Neve, "confirmationis Robti de Eldeham patris sui donationis reddit. in Eldeham Canonicis de Combwell, 1245."

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Robert de Eldeham=

John de Godintone, 1245.

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## LXI.

[Dated An. 1229.]

ADAM son of GEOFFREY DE COLINTON grants all his right to the lands of COLINTON to the Priory of Cumbwell, for the sum of forty shillings.

Sciunt etc.—quod ego ADAM filius GALFREIDI DE COLINTON concessi etc.—Deo et ecclesie beate Marie Magdalene de Cumbwell et Canonicis etc.—totum jus et totum clamium quod ad me vel da heredes meos aliquo jure in terrâ de COLINTON potest vel poterit pertinere cum omnibus pertinentiis suis. Pro hac autem concessione et juris mei quietâ clamatione et carte hujus confirmatione factis et recordatis in plena Curia de Cumbwell Anno incarnationis m<sup>o</sup>.cc<sup>o</sup>.xxix<sup>o</sup>. dederunt mihi prior et conventus quadraginta solidos sterlingorum. Ut autem hec concessio etc.,—huic scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus NICHOLAO LONDON BENJAMIN DE SOWELL ROGERO DE CROHEEST HENRICO DE TIEDESSESSE WALTERO DE GUHERST RICARDO clerico RADULFO WAN OSMERO FULLONE et Curia de Cumbwell et multis aliis.

[Seal lost.]

In dorso : "Adam de Colinton," and by Le Neve, "de terra at Colinton dat. Canonicis de Cumbwell." In earlier hand, "Rakele."

## LXII.

[Date, probably circa 1230.¹]

Counterpart of agreement for perpetual lease of two mills and a piece of land at RACCHEL by the Priory of Cumbwell to GEOFFREY DE RACCHEL, at an annual rent of twelve shillings, with certain covenants on both sides.

Hic est conventio facta inter H. priorem et conventum de Cumbwell ex una parte, et GALFRIDUM DE RACCHEL ex ex (sic)

¹ Richard Wethershed or Magnus having been consecrated Archbishop in 1229.

altera scilicet quod prior et conventus tradunt ad firmam perpetuam fidem GALFRIDO et heredibus suis utrumque molendinum suum et situm eorundem de RACCHEL et terram versus occidentem sicut Rivulus qui se extendit ab anglo molendini usque ad finem veteris vie dure et foveam que circumdat terram illam et adcapitat ad terram WALTERI DE SUMERY cum vestiturâ et duas insulettas ex altera parte aque et angulum cujusdam campi retro molendini fossatum et terram que dicitur BISSOPESHAM. Habendas et tenendas libere et quiete hereditarie reddendo inde annuatim scilicet ille et heredes sui duodecim solidos redditus apud Cumbwell ad quatuor terminos anni scilicet ad pascham tres solidos ad festum Sancti Johannis tressolidos ad festum Sancti Michaelis tres solidos ad nativitatem domini tres solidos pro omni servitio et consuetudine et seculari demanda—salvis tamen priori et conventui tota aqua in quantum tenementum ipsorum durat et via competenti ad cariandum bladum et fenum et omnia alia et ad fugandum et deamblandum pedes et eques omni hora pro voluntate domus. Sciendum vero quod dictus GALFRIDUS nec per se nec per aliam personam quamcunque retia tendet per illum vel suos vel aliquod genus ingenii piscationis apponet de quibus aliquod genus piscis capere possit nec piscarias domus de Cumbwell impedit per se vel per alium quo minus piscis capi possit. Et sciendum est quod prior et conventus invenient dicto GALFRIDO et heredibus suis vias rationabiles ad molendinum tam in COLINTON quam in RACCHELE et facient ei hesiam rationabilem per quam ingressus et egressus de tenemento suo de RACCHEL pateat versus molendinum. et ipse G. et heredes sui conservabunt indemnitatem domus de Cumbwell provenientem ex ipsa hesia. Et si forte aliquis vicinus inquietaverit dictum GALFRIDUM vel suos per breve domini Regis de recursu aque ad nocumentum liberi tenementi sui Dictus prior et conventus warrantizabunt dicto GALFRIDO et heredibus suis altitudinem stagni molendini prout fuit die quo magister RICARDUS MAGNUS confirmatus fuit in Archiepiscopatum Cantuariensem nisi dictus G. vel sui permittunt stagnum deperire. Ut autem hec firma et conventio robur habeat firmitatis huic scripto utriusque partis signa sunt apposita. Hiis testibus HENRICO DE TIRDESSE BENJAMINO DE SOWELL EGIDIO DE PESSELE WALTERO clerico SIMONE DE MORA

RICARDO clerico HENRICO WALTERO JOHANNE servientibus de CUMBWELL et multis aliis.



*In dorso* : "Inter G. de Rachel et Cumb;" and by Le Neve "Carta Prioriæ Cumbwell facta Galfr. de Rachel pro molendino de Rachel cum diversis convencionibus notatu prædignis."

### LXIII.

[Dated March, 1230.]

*Charter of RICHARD (MAGNUS), Archbishop of Canterbury, whereby, —after citing a letter to him from CLEMENT, Abbot of the Præmonstratensians, which states that the Priory of Cumbwell has been charged by the Abbot of BAYHAM with having deserted the Præmonstratensian Rule, and refers the matter to him,—he orders, after holding a Visitation of the Priory, that it should conform to the Augustinian Rule, as practised by the Canons of WALTHAM.*

Omnibus Christi fidelibus presentes litteras inspecturis R. permissione divinâ Cantuariensis ecclesie minister humilis Totius Anglie primas salutem in domino. Litteras CLEMENTIS Ecclesie Præmonstratensium Abbatis et Abbatum ejusdem ordinis in capitulo generali constitutorum Suscepimus in hec verba.

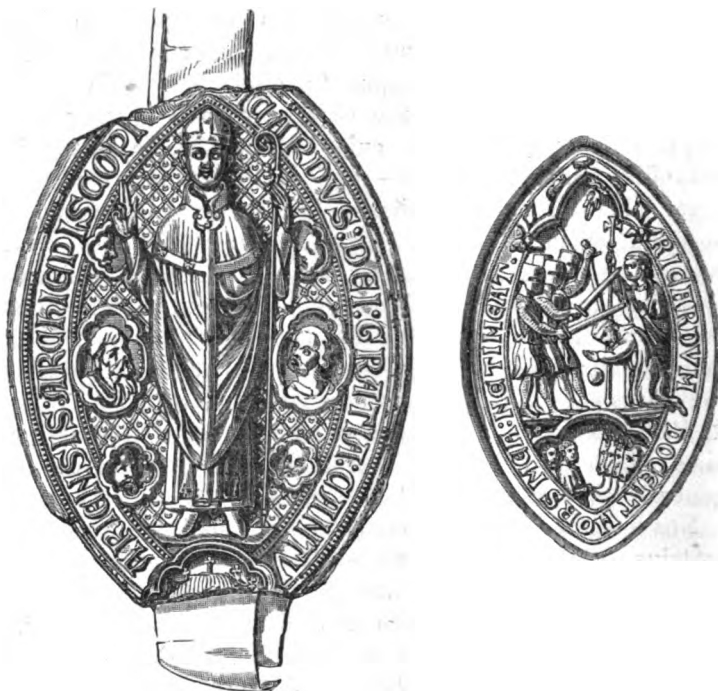
Cum de communi consilio generalis capituli Prior et conventus de Cumwell ab Abbate de BEGEHAM nostri ordinis fuerint

impetiti eo quod nostrum ordinem rejecissent quem eosdem gestasse aliquando notum est et certum et hoc rationabiliter factum fuerit sicut credimus et de jure tamen quam eandem domum in protectionem vestram et defensionem accipere voluistis eam tanquam vestram et ecclesie vestre per omnia reputantes—habito super hoc consilio diligenti totam causam conscientie vestre duximus relinquendam de vestra bonitate discretione et prudentiâ confidentes et sperantes immo plenissime presumentes quod vos qui tanquam speculum in ecclesiâ Dei et quasi columpna immobilis facti estis scientiâ pariter et doctrinâ a viâ rectitudinis et justicie suggestionem aliquâ deviare non velitis cujus fama defecata ubicunque diffundit suavitatis odorem—siquidem quantumcunque nobis super dicta domo prejudicium generetur quequunque ad nostrum ordinem habuit directe respectum quia contra vestram offensam in aliquo incurrere non vellemus et si maximum juris nostri patiamur forsitan detrimentum ut supradictum est—vobis ordinationem dicte domus duximus relinquendam ut inde faciatis quod honori vestro et saluti dictorum prioris et conventus videritis expedire scituri quod nos venerabili Abbati de BEGEHAM dedimus in mandatis ut supersedeat in causa predicta. Valet in domino. Datum PREMONSTRATI in capitulo generali anno gratie m°. cc°. vicesimo nono.

Nos igitur ad dictum Monasterium de Cumbwell juxta officii nostri debitum ratione visitationis personaliter accedentes invocata spiritus sancti gratiâ de virorum prudentum nobis assidentium consilio ita duximus ordinandum—videlicet quod prior qui pro tempore fuerit et conventus ejusdem loci tam in victu quam in vestitu regulam beati Augustini sequantur eo saltem modo vivendo quo canonici de WALTHAM vivere dinoscuntur.<sup>1</sup> Prenominatum etiam monasterium cum omnibus per-

<sup>1</sup> Harold's Foundation at Waltham had remained a College of Seculars, as he left it, till the reign of Henry II., when charges of lax discipline were brought against it, and its Dean, Guido Ruffus, was in 1174 suspended from his office and orders by Archbishop Richard, the successor of Thomas Becket. (Ralph de Diceto, Twysd. 583.) Early in 1177 the Dean and Canons resigned their offices into the Archbishop's hands at a Council held at Northampton; and shortly afterwards, on the 11th of June in the same year, sixteen Augustinian Monks were introduced at Waltham, and the foundation constituted an Abbey, in the presence of the King himself (Id. 598. John Bromton, id. 1118-9. Hoveden, 320. Gervase, Twysd. 1434.)

tinentiis suis sicut et<sup>1</sup> . . . . . sub dei et nostra et ecclesie nostre protectione suscepimus decernentes ipsum monasterium nobis [et suc] cessoribus et ecclesie nostre immediate subiacere et ad nullum aliud monasterium . . . . [aliquo] jure pertinere. Et in hujus nostre ordinationis testimonium huic scripto sigillum [nostrum apposimus]. Datum anno domini m<sup>o</sup>. cc<sup>o</sup>. tricesimo mense martio.



*In dorso*: [original indorsement obliterated:] by Le Neve, "Carta R. Cant. Archiepiscopi Canonicis de Combwell, Kano. Ric. Wethershed."

#### LXIV.

[Date, very shortly after the preceding.]

*Charter of Inspecimus by* NICHOLAS Abbot of FAVERSHAM, RICHARD Abbot of BATTLE, THOMAS Prior of ST. GREGORY, CANTERBURY, and F. Prior of LEDES, citing a letter from CLEMENT Abbot of the

<sup>1</sup> The parchment is torn at the end of this charter.

*Præmonstratensians, to the Abbot of BAYHAM (dated 1229), which commands him to proceed no further in the matter which is the subject of the foregoing Charter, as displeasing to the Archbishop.*

Universis Christi fidelibus presentes litteras inspecturis NICHOLAUS dei gracia Abbas de FAVERSHAM RICARDUS eadem gracia Abbas de BELLO THOMAS dei paciencia Prior SANCTI GREGORII CANTUARIE F. eadem paciencia Prior de LEDES eternam in domino salutem. Noverit universitas vestra quod nos litteras patentes Domini CLEMENTIS Præmonstratensium Abbas et Abbatum ejusdem ordinis capituli generalis sigillo Abbatum ejusdem capituli signatas Abbati de BEGEHAM directas inspeximus sub hac forma.

C. dei paciencia Præmonstratensium Abbas et Abbatum ejusdem ordinis Capitulum generale venerabili in Christo fratri Abbati de BEGEHAM salutem et sinceram in domino caritatem. Licet causa quam habetis adversus Priorem et Conventum de Cumbwell rationabilis sit forsitan atque . . . quia tamen Domino Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi displicet sicut ex suis litteris ad nos missis cognovimus evidenter cum domum eandem reputet tanquam suam et nolimus ejus offensam incurrere quantumcunque nobis preiudicium inferatur—Mandamus vobis quatinus penitus supersedeatis in causa predicta cum nos eandem causam conscientie dicti Archiepiscopi duxerimus relinquendam. Litteras autem procuratorias quas habetis super causa predicta per presentes litteras penitus revocamus. Valete. Datum PRÆMONSTRATI in capitulo generali anno MCCXX nono.

Quod autem is sit tenor litterarum ex parte Capituli generalis Præmonstratensium Abbati de BEGEHAM directarum ad instanciam Prioris et Conventus de Cumbwell presentibus litteris cum sigillorum nostrorum testimonio protestamur. Valeat universitas vestra semper in domino.

[Seals lost.]

*In dorso : "Inspectio litterarum Præmonstratensium."*

## LXV.

[Date, prob. circa 1220.<sup>1</sup>]

ROBERT, son of TURBERT, grants to the Priory of Cumbwell a rent-charge of thirty-two pence payable to him by STEPHEN BRID out of land in SPARRINGEBROKE, and another of seven shillings and four pence, payable to him by WILLIAM son of RENGIER.

Sciunt—etc. quod ego ROBERTUS filius TURBERTI Intuitu dei et pro salute anime mee et animarum antecessorum et heredum meorum Dedi—etc. Deo et ecclesie sancte Marie Magdalene de Cumbwell et Canonicis—etc. in liberam—etc. elemosinam triginta duos denarios redditus quos STEPHANUS BRID consuevit michi reddere De terra quam tenuit de me in SPARRINGEBROKE. Preterea septem solidos et quatuor denarios redditus quos WILLELMUS filius RENGIERI michi debuit de terris quas tenuit de me. Et quicquid Juris in jam dictis terris vel jam dicto redditu habui vel habere potui sine aliquo retinemento. Et ego ROBERTUS et heredes mei warantizabimus predictae ecclesie de Cumbwell jam dictos redditus et quicquid juris habui in eisdem redditibus et terris unde illi provenient contra omnes homines et feminas in perpetuum. Et ut hec—etc. hanc cartam sigillo meo roboravi. Hiis Testibus ADAM DE BENDENG WILLELMO DE WICHEL WALTERO DE BASFORD REGINALDO DE ESHERSTE WALTERO SCEMENTARIO WILLELMO filio RENGIERI ROBERTO filio HAMONIS STEPHANO DE PONTE JACOBO PENTEL ELFRICS DE PONTE et multis aliis.

[Seal lost.]

*In dorso* : "Rob. fil. Turb."

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Turbert=

Robert, circ. 1220.

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<sup>1</sup> Before 1229, the date of the death of Adam de Bending, one of the witnesses. (See Gatton Pedigree, given with the earlier of these Charters.)



## LXVI.

[Date, probably even with the preceding.]

STEPHEN, son of EDWARD BRID, acknowledges his liability to pay the former rent-charge granted in the preceding Charter by ROBERT son of TURBERT.

Omnibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit STEPHANUS filius EDWARDI BRID salutem. Noverit universitas vestra quod Ego fide media teneor<sup>1</sup> reddere domui de Cumbwell de annuo redditu sex decim denarios in die sancti Michaelis et Totidem in die sancti Petri ad vincula scilicet de tenemento quod tenui hereditarie de ROBERTO filio TURBERTI. Et nisi Ego et heredes mei plene predictam pecuniam infra octavas predictorum terminorum solverimus pro transgressione utriusque termini duorum solidorum penam incurremus. Promisi eciam pro me et heredibus meis quod nunquam regiam prohibitionem nec aliquid impedimentum impetrabimus quo minus ista obligacio perpetuo teneatur. Fidem quoque prestiti pro me et heredibus meis nos fideliter predictam convencionem et obligationem in perpetuum observaturos. In hujus rei testimonium presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus ADAM DE BENDENG MATHEO GIBUN REGINALDO DE ESHERSTE CRISTIANO LASCUR THOMA filio BALDEWINI PETRO DE WALLE WALUORDO RICARDO clerico HENRICO WILLELMO GILEBERTO coco servientibus de Cumbwelle Et multis aliis.

[Seal lost.]

*In dorso*: "Stephani Brid," and by Le Nove, "Cumbwell Monaster. Kanc."

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Edward Brid=

|  
Stephen Brid, circ. 1220.

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<sup>1</sup> Fide media teneor,—i.e., as I translate it, "am bound in mesne fealty." Stephen Brid would be tenant by subinfeudation, having his own vassal-tenants under him; and being mesne-lord of the land in question by payment of the sixteenpence rent to Fitz-Turbert his superior lord, he by this Charter transfers his fealty, and attorns tenant to the Priory. The same expression is used by William Wyneman in the next Charter, and the rather remarkable covenant occurring in both Charters,

## LXVII.

[Date, even with the preceding.]

WILLIAM WYNEMAN, son of REINGER, acknowledges his liability to pay the second rent-charge granted as above by ROBERT son of TURBERT.

Omnibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit WILLELMUS WYNEMAN filius REINGERI salutem. Noverit universitas vestra quod ego fide media teneor reddere domui de Cumbwell de annuo redditu Tres solidos et octo denarios in die Sancti Michaelis et totidem in die sancti Petri ad Vincula scilicet de Tenemento quod tenui hereditarie de ROBERTO filio TURBERTI. Et nisi ego et heredes mei plene predictam pecuniam infra octavas predictorum terminorum solverimus pro transgressione utriusque termini duorum solidorum penam incurremus. Promisi eciam pro me et heredibus meis quod nunquam regiam prohibitionem nec aliquid impedimentum impetrabimus quo minus ista obligacio perpetuo teneatur. fidem quoque prestiti pro me et heredibus meis nos fideliter predictam convencionem et obligacionem in perpetuum observaturos. In hujus rei testimonium presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus ADAM DE BENDENG MATHEO GIBUN REGINALDO DE ESHERSTE CRISTIANO LASCUR THOMA filio BALDEWINI PETRO DE WALLE WULUORDO RICARDO clerico HENRICO WILLELMO GILBERTO Coco servantibus (*sic*) de Cumbwell et multis aliis.



"quod nunquam regiam prohibitionem impetrabimus," etc., seems to relate to this mesne tenure, and to give us an early hint of the existence of the outcry against subinfeudation which ended seventy years later in the abolition of that mode of alienation of land, by the celebrated Act of Edward I., known as the Statute "Quia Emptores."

*In dorso*: "Wyneman fil. Rengeri." and by Le Neve,  
 "Combwell Monast. Kanc."

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Reinger=

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William Wyneman, circ. 1220.

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# LXVIII.

[Date, perhaps circa 1225.]

ROESIA DE DOVOR, in her widowhood,—citing her prior Charter, by which she had granted to ALURED DE DENE a rent-charge of four shillings, issuing out of land in MEDHEEST, near EDELING-BRIDGE,<sup>1</sup>—confirms to the Priory of Cumbwell the gift of the same rent-charge made by ALURED DE DENE to the Priory.

Sciant—etc. Quod Ego ROESIA DE DOVOR in ligia potestate viduitatis mee Intuitu dei et pro salute anime mee et antecessorum et successorum meorum concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi pro me et heredibus meis Deo et Ecclesie beate Marie Magdalene de Cumbwelle et Canonicis—etc. et eorum successoribus donacionem et concessionem quam ALUREDUS DE DENE fecit Deo et ecclesie supradicte de Cumbwell et canonicis ejusdem loci et eorum successoribus super quatuor solidos annui redditus cum pertinenciis suis quos JOHANNES DE MEDHEEST et parcenarii sui prefato ALUREDUS de dono meo annuatim reddere consueverunt prout continetur in carta sua quam inde habet que talis est.

Sciant—etc. quod Ego ROESIA DE DOVOR in ligia potestate viduitatis mee Dedi concessi et presenti carta mea confirmavi ALUREDUS DE DENE pro homagio et servicio suo quatuor solidos annui redditus quos JOHANNES DE MEDHEEST et ejus parcenarii mihi annuatim reddere consueverunt de terra quam de me tenuerunt in MEDHEEST juxta pontem EDELING ad duos terminos anni scilicet ad Nativitatem beati Johannis Baptiste duos solidos ad Nativitatem beate Marie duos solidos cum homagio sectis Releviis Escaetis et omni jure quod mihi vel heredibus meis aliquo tempore inde accidere poterit. Habendum et

<sup>1</sup> Eden-bridge.

Tenendum de me et heredibus meis sibi et heredibus suis vel cuicunque dare vendere vel assignare voluerit libere quiete Bene et In pace et jure hereditario in perpetuum. Et Ego predicta ROESIA et heredes mei predictum redditum quatuor solidorum cum omnibus pertinenciis suis ut supradictum est predicto ALUREDIO et heredibus vel assignatis suis contra omnes gentes in perpetuum warentizabimus. Et ut hec—etc. presens scriptum sigillo mei impressione roboravi. Hiis testibus Domino JOHANNE DE ESLING Domino ROBERTO DE CHILEHAM Domino WILLELMO JUENE PHILIPPO DE BURN ADAM DE TREYME-WRTHE SIMONE GRIM HENRICO LONGO GILBERTO SYWARD GOLD-HAUCK DE LYESN ROBERTO LE WREWARD WILLELMO DE GYPEWIZ JOHANNE BENKIT GILBERTO DE CRUCE et aliis.

Et ut hec mea concessio et confirmacio et predicti ALUREDII donacio firma—etc. permaneat presens scriptum sigilli mei impressione pro me et heredibus meis roboravi. Hiis testibus Dominis BERTRAMMO DE CRIOLL JOHANNE DE COBBEHAM REGINALDO et WILLELMO fratribus ejus<sup>1</sup> WALTERO DE DENE JOHANNE DE CRYOLL NICHOLAO DE HADLO THOMA ABELYN militibus. THOMA DE OKOLT WILLELMO DE CRYOLL PHILIPPO DE BURN JULIANO DE BESTAN Et multis aliis.



*In dorso* : "Confirmacio Dne Roesie de Dovor super donacione Dni Aluredi de Dene," and by Le Neve, "Canonicis de

<sup>1</sup> I have conjecturally dated this as above, in default of closer evidence, as a little earlier than the succeeding Charter, (one of the son of that Alured

Cumbwell. Sigillum Roesiæ de Dovor." Also in early hand, "Medeherst."

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|---------------------|---------------|--------------|
| Sir John de Cobham. | Sir Reginald. | Sir William. |
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## LXIX.

[Dated an. 1231.]

WALTER, son of AUFRID DE DENE, confirms to the Priory of Cumbwell all the grants of his ancestors, to wit, the Dens of BREUSINDEN, THEDWOLDINDEN, and MERILE, and the royal service of two shillings, formerly paid at his court of RAPETON, but released by AUFRID his father.

Sciant—etc., quod ego WALTERUS filius AUFRIDI DE DENE pro salute anime mee et animarum antecessorum et heredum meorum concessi—etc. Deo et ecclesie beate Marie Magdalene de Cumbwell et canonicis—etc. in liberam—etc. elemosinam do-

de Dene whose gift this confirms), and as not disagreeing with the particulars known to us of the donor herself, and of her witnesses Sir Bertram de Criol, and Sirs John, Reginald, and William de Cobham. Roesia de Dovor, the only child of Robert de Dovor, and heiress of the great Barony of Dovor, the "caput baroniæ" of which was at Chilham, is said to have been first married to Richard de Chilham (probably a cousin of her own), and secondly, in 1214, to Richard Fitzroy, a natural son of King John, of whom we only know that he left three children by her, and was dead before 1250. We have therefore to fix our date for this charter between 1217, the earliest that we can suppose for his death, and 1231, the date of the succeeding Charter. There is, however, a possibility that Roesia's "widowhood" was that caused by the death of her first husband, which would place the Charter probably about 1213; but this is less likely as well from the ages of the witnesses mentioned, as from the handwriting of the Charter itself. Roesia is said to have married later a third husband, Richard de Wilton. (Dugd. Bar. i. 462.)

It will be noticed that the female figure on her seal (unhappily mutilated), is flanked by two fishes, no doubt intended for *lucæ*, and adopted by reason of her descent from the family of Lucy. See also the seal of her grandfather, Fulbert de Dovor, engraved, from the Chartulary of St. Bertin's Abbey, in the fourth volume of our *Archæologia*, p. 214, and bearing his coat chequy charged with a fish, pretty evidently in right of his wife Roesia de Lucy.

naciones et confirmaciones factas jam dicte ecclesie ab antecessoribus meis videlicet totam dennam de BREUSINDEN et de THEDWOLDINDEN et MERILE cum omnibus pertinentiis earundem. Preterea donacionem factam ab AUFRIDO patre meo de regali servicio quondam perveniente de prenominais dennis cum suis pertinentiis et ad curiam de RAPETON pertinente assignato per cartam patris mei in duobus solidis annuatim eisdem canonicis solvendis ad constructionem duorum tereorum ad millam beate Marie Virginis. Ita quidem quod ego WALTERUS et heredes mei respondebimus de cetero de predicto regali servicio de dominico meo de RAPETON nullo jure nullo seculari servicio vel demanda vel curie secta vel quacunque alia exactione mihi vel heredibus meis in posterum de predictis terris vel earum pertinentiis reservatis. Set (*sic*) ego WALTERUS et heredes mei warantizabimus—etc. Et in hujus rei testimonium presenti carte sigillum meum apposui. Facta autem hec confirmacio anno gracie m°. cc°. xxx°. i°. Hiis testibus ROGERO DE SOTINDON RICARDO filio suo WALTERO DE YNTESIE WILLELMO DE WYCHEL PHILIPPO RUFO WILLELMO DE BRECCHESDEN WILLELMO HAREPERE WILLELMO POYNANT et multis aliis.



*In dorso*: "Walter de Den," and by Le Neve, "Carta Walteri filii Anfridi de Dene. terr. Breulinden Thedwaldsdene et

Merle et omnium donationum antecessorum Canonicis de Cumbwell. 1231."

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Aufrid de Dene=

Walter, alive 1231.

Roger de Sotindon=

Richard.

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## MISCELLANEA.

TOMB OF KING HENRY IV. IN CANTERBURY  
CATHEDRAL.

It is very generally known that in the year 1832, to set at rest certain historical doubts, the Dean and Resident Canons of Canterbury caused this tomb to be opened. An account of the facts and discoveries was drawn up at the time by the Rev. Dr. Spry, one of the Canons present, but was privately circulated only; nor has any full statement of the proceedings, so far as I am aware, ever been published. It cannot but be desirable that the facts should be placed on more permanent record, and preserved from loss; and the kindness of Archdeacon Harrison enables me to print Dr. Spry's narrative here *in extenso*.

T. G. G. F.

"A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE EXAMINATION OF THE TOMB OF KING HENRY IV. IN THE CATHEDRAL OF CANTERBURY, AUGUST 21, 1832.

"One of the most remarkable of the monuments preserved in the Cathedral of Canterbury, is a very costly altar-tomb, erected in honour of King Henry IV. and Joan of Navarre, his Queen. All our historians have stated that King Henry was buried in this Cathedral; and no doubt was entertained that his body was really deposited in the tomb thus raised to preserve it, until the learned and inquisitive Henry Wharton discovered in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, a manuscript, which he published in the second volume of his *Anglia Sacra*, (folio, London, 1691,) wherein it is asserted that the body of the King was taken out of the coffin and thrown into the Thames, by those who were conveying it by water from London to Canterbury. As this was written by a contemporary, and purports to give an account received by



him from one who was himself an agent in the outrage, it has been admitted as evidence by all the writers who have undertaken to describe the Cathedral of Canterbury, and its monuments, from Batteley downwards.

"The manuscript is entitled 'A History of the Martyrdom of Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York;' and it is written by one Clement Maydestone,\* an ecclesiastic, and a retainer of the deceased prelate.

"The passage is as follows :—

† "After the death of this King, a wonderful event occurred declaratory of the glory of the above-named Lord Archbishop Richard, and commending it to memory for ever. For in less than thirty days after the death of the said King Henry IV., one of his household came to dine at the house of the Holy Trinity, at Hounslow; and during dinner, while the company present were talking of the excellent conduct of that King, this person observed to a certain esquire, named Thomas Maydestone, who was sitting with him at the table, 'God knows whether he was a good man; but this I know for certain, that while his body was conveying in a small vessel from Westminster towards Canterbury, to be buried there, I was one of three persons who threw the corpse into the sea, between Berking and Gravesend.'

"And he added, with an oath, 'Such a storm of wind fell upon us, and the waves ran so high, that many nobles, who followed us in eight small ships, were scarcely saved from death, their vessels having been dispersed by the tempest.

\* "Clemens Maydestone, filius Thomæ Maydestone Armigeri, fuit ordinis S. Brigittæ Confrater domus de Howndeslow.—*Tunneri Bibliotheca*, p. 500."

† "Post mortem ejusdem Regis accidit quoddam mirabile ad prædicti Domini Richardi Archipræsulis gloriam declarandam et æternæ memoriæ commendandam. Nam infra triginta dies post mortem dicti Regis Henrici quarti venit quidam vir de familiâ ejusdem ad domum sanctæ Trinitatis de Howndeslow vescendi causâ; et cum in prandio sermocinarentur circumstantes de probitate morum ipsius Regis; respondit prædictus vir cuidam Armigero vocato Thomæ Maydestone, in eâdem mensâ tunc sedenti: si fuerit vir bonus, novit Deus; sed hoc verissime scio, quod cum a Westmonasteriâ corpus ejus versus Cantuariam in parvâ naviculâ portaretur ibidem sepeliendum, ego fui unus de tribus personis qui projecerunt corpus ipsius in mare inter Berkingum et Gravesend. Et addidit cum juramento; tanta tempestas ventorum et fluctuum irruit super nos, quod multi nobiles sequentes nos in naviculis octo in numero

But we who were with the body, being in peril of our lives, by common consent threw it into the sea, and immediately there was a great calm.

“ ‘ But the chest, covered with cloth of gold, in which the body had lain, we carried with great honour unto Canterbury, and buried it. Therefore the monks of Canterbury may say, that the sepulchre of King Henry IV. is with us, not his body; as also said Peter of the holy David, in the second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles.’ God Almighty is witness and judge, that I, Clement Maydestone, saw that man and heard him swear to my father, Thomas Maydestone, that all which he had said was true.’—*See Wharton’s ‘Anglia Sacra,’* Vol. ii., p. 372.

“ It is clear that this narrative is open to great suspicion; for, admitting that the known superstition of the sailors might have tempted them, in a moment of peril, to throw the corpse into the sea, it is scarcely probable that one of the King’s household, if he had been engaged in so culpable a transaction, would have spoken openly on the subject, and so shortly after the funeral, knowing, as he must have known, that King Henry V. would have visited such an offence with great severity. It should also be observed that Clement Maydestone is an interested witness. He was as ready to depreciate the character of the deceased monarch, as to extol the honour of his master, whom he conceived to have been wrongfully executed. And a writer who was so far under the influence of prejudice as to represent the punishment of high-treason as a martyrdom, and the death of the King as a judgment from Heaven upon a persecutor of the Church, would not hesitate in propagating, if not inventing, a story which he could construe into a proof of a Divine interposition, in honour of his patron’s memory.

dispersi sunt, ut vix mortis periculum evaserunt. Nos vero qui eramus cum corpore, in desperatione vitæ nostræ positi, cum assensu projecimus illud in mare; et facta est tranquillitas magna. Cistam vero, in quâ jacebat, panno deaurato coopertam, cum maximo honore Cantuariam deportavimus, et sepelivimus eam.

“ ‘ Dicant ergo Monachi Cantuariæ, quod sepulchrum Regis Henrici quarti est apud nos, non corpus; sicut dixit Petrus de Sancto David, Act. 2<sup>o</sup>. Deus Omnipotens est testis et judex; quod ego Clemens Maydestone vidi virum illum, et audivi ipsum jurantem patri meo, Thomæ Maydestone, omnia prædicta fore vera.’ ”

"Still, it has long been one of the *desiderata curiosa* of antiquaries to ascertain the truth or falsehood of Clement Maydestone's narrative, by an actual examination of the coffin; and for this purpose the royal vault was opened on the 21st of August last, in the presence of a few individuals,\* under the sanction of the Dean of Canterbury; and the following account has been drawn up from notes taken on the spot at the time, by one of those individuals.

"On removing a portion of the marble pavement at the western end of the monument, it was found to have been laid on rubbish composed of lime dust, small pieces of Caen stone, and a few flints, among which were found two or three pieces of decayed stuff, or silk, (perhaps portions of the cloth of gold† which covered the coffin,) and also a piece of leather.

"When the rubbish was cleared away, we came to what appeared to be the lid of a wooden case, of very rude form and construction, which the surveyor at once pronounced to be a coffin. It lay east and west, projecting beyond the monument towards the west, for about one-third of its length. Upon it, to the east, and entirely within the monument, lay a leaden coffin without any wooden case, of much smaller size, and very singular shape, being formed by bending one sheet of lead over another, and soldering them at the junctions.

"This coffin was supposed to contain the remains of Queen Joan, and was not disturbed.

"Not being able to take off the lid of the large coffin, as a great portion of its length was under the tomb, and being unwilling to move the alabaster monument for the purpose of getting at it, it was decided to saw through the lid, about three feet from what was supposed to be the head of the coffin.

"And this being done, the piece of wood was carefully

\* "Present,—

The Hon. and Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of Oxford, Dean of Canterbury.

The Lady Harriet Bagot.

Hon. Sir Charles Bagot.

Rev. W. F. Baylay. } Prebendaries.

Rev. Dr. Spry. }

Mr. George Austin, Surveyor of the Cathedral.

John Pedder. }

Thomas Laming. } Workmen."

† "See Maydestone, above."

removed, and found to be elm, very coarsely worked, about one inch and a half thick, and perfectly sound.

"Immediately under this elm board was a quantity of haybands filling the coffin, and upon the surface of them lay a very rude small cross, formed by merely tying two twigs together, thus +. This fell to pieces on being moved.

"When the haybands, which were very sound and perfect, were removed, we found a leaden case or coffin, moulded in some degree to the shape of a human figure; and it was at once evident that this had never been disturbed, but lay as it was originally deposited,—though it may be difficult to conjecture why it was placed in a case so rude and unsightly, and so much too large for it that the haybands appeared to have been used to keep it steady.

"In order to ascertain what was contained in this leaden case, it became necessary to saw through a portion of it, and in this manner an oval piece of the lead, about seven inches long, and four inches over at the widest part of it, was carefully removed. Under this we found wrappers, which seemed to be of leather, and afterwards proved to have been folded five times round the body. The material was firm in its texture, very moist, of a deep brown colour, and earthy smell. These wrappers were cut through and lifted off, when, to the astonishment of all present, the face of the deceased King was seen in complete preservation. The nose elevated, the cartilage even remaining, though, on the admission of the air, it sunk rapidly away, and had entirely disappeared before the examination was finished. The skin of the chin was entire, of the consistence and thickness of the upper leather of a shoe, brown and moist; the beard thick and matted, and of a deep russet colour.

"The jaws were perfect, and all the teeth in them, except one fore-tooth, which had probably been lost during the King's life. The opening of the lead was not large enough to expose the whole of the features, and we did not examine the eyes or forehead. But the surveyor stated that when he introduced his fingers under the wrappers to remove them, he distinctly felt the orbits of the eyes prominent in their sockets. The flesh upon the nose was moist, clammy, and of the same brown colour as every other part of the face.

"Having thus ascertained that the body of the King was

actually deposited in the tomb, and that it had never been disturbed, the wrappers were laid again upon the face, the lead drawn back over them, the lid of the coffin put on, the rubbish filled in, and the marble pavement replaced immediately.

"It should be observed that about three feet from the head of the figure was a remarkable projection in the lead, as if to make room for the hands that they might be elevated as in prayer.

"J. H. S."

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO A DISPUTE BETWEEN THE  
SEVEN HUNDREDS AND LYDD CONCERNING THE  
WATCH AT DENG MARSH.

COMMUNICATED BY W. J. LIGHTFOOT, ESQ., FROM A MS. BELONGING  
TO HAWKHURST CHURCH.

*A shorte reherseall howe y<sup>e</sup> 7 hundreds were comanded to watche at Dengmarshe Ano 1585 by y<sup>e</sup> Lorde Lievtennante comandement w<sup>th</sup> a shorte discowrse of their sute in y<sup>e</sup> behalf and how often they did deny y<sup>e</sup> service afterward w<sup>th</sup> a breefe of o<sup>r</sup> answers against y<sup>e</sup> men of Lydde proofes and allegations.*

Ffirst after y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Pope had procured y<sup>t</sup> Holy Leagene as he called it to y<sup>t</sup> end to overthrow y<sup>e</sup> Gospell and to establish their Popery. The Spanishe Kinge, who was the greatest prince in y<sup>t</sup> league, began nowe to turne all his force and power against o<sup>r</sup> Queene and countrey, and prepared a mighty navy for y<sup>t</sup> purpose; and uppon this newes her ma<sup>ty</sup> appoynted choyse persons to be her levtennantes in every sheir for to appoynte captaines and their souldiers to be trained, and so this newes beinge still encresed. Beacons wer comanded to be set up, and watches to be kept, and in y<sup>e</sup> year afforsaide we of the 7 hundreds were comanded by o<sup>r</sup> L. L. to send 12 men to watche at Dengmarshe, y<sup>e</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> wee did most willingly undertake as well in regarde of y<sup>e</sup> present danger then thought to be at hand as also to testify o<sup>r</sup> obedience to o<sup>r</sup> L. L., thinking y<sup>t</sup> change to have exceeded only by virtue of y<sup>t</sup> his absolute

auctority, and not by pretence of any ordynary right or duty in lawe. But when we perseved y<sup>e</sup> service was laide upon us by the earnest solistation of y<sup>e</sup> inhabitants of Lydd upon information y<sup>t</sup> ye same was due by lawe and accostomed to be done, and feeling y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> burthen of findinge y<sup>e</sup> saide 12 men to watch y<sup>e</sup> said place, wole growinge to y<sup>e</sup> sume of ninescore pounds yearly at y<sup>e</sup> least, and considering y<sup>e</sup> saide watche if it shold have continuance wold charge us and o<sup>r</sup> posterities for ever, upon y<sup>e</sup> earnest request of y<sup>e</sup> 7 H. Mr. Thomas Roberts, esquier, in the yere 1587, sent Stephen Sharpy and Edward Batcocke w<sup>th</sup> a Petition enclosed in his leter unto o<sup>r</sup> L. L. to this efecte y<sup>t</sup> we might have a daye opoynted y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> men of Lydde might shew by what right they callenged this service at o<sup>r</sup> hands. This day was obtayned and a leter by o<sup>r</sup> L. L. directed to S<sup>r</sup> Tho. Scot and S<sup>r</sup> Ja. Halles, who were his debities leentennants, y<sup>t</sup> they shold send to y<sup>e</sup> men of Lydd and apoynt a day to hear both parties what cold be saide of ether side, and to certify the L. L. accordingly. The place apoynted at Ashetiford, and thither came S<sup>r</sup> T. S. and y<sup>e</sup> men of Lydd w<sup>th</sup> their counsell, and ther was Mr. Roberts w<sup>th</sup> o<sup>r</sup> counsell, and y<sup>e</sup> matter was throughtly handled on o<sup>r</sup> side y<sup>e</sup> S<sup>r</sup> T. S. was faine to answer for y<sup>e</sup> men of Lydd, yet in y<sup>e</sup> end he promised Mr. Roberts and o<sup>r</sup> counsell y<sup>t</sup> he wold not certify untill their counsell and o<sup>th</sup> had met at London and ther set downe their opinion in writing y<sup>e</sup> w<sup>th</sup> opinions he wold certify unto o<sup>r</sup> L. L., whereupon Mr. Roberts sent Edward Batcocke to London unto o<sup>r</sup> counsell y<sup>t</sup> they shold set downe their opinions in writinge, but y<sup>e</sup> Lydd men and their counsell came not and in the meantyme S<sup>r</sup> T. S. certyified o<sup>r</sup> L. L. against us, and wold not performe his promise, and soe when did understand this we prepared o<sup>r</sup> selves w<sup>th</sup> o<sup>r</sup> counsell and made searche in y<sup>e</sup> Tower to see what might be found against us, or w<sup>th</sup> us, so haveinge o<sup>r</sup> counsell's hands o<sup>r</sup> booke Mr. Roberts sent Ste. Shar. and Ed. Bat. w<sup>th</sup> o<sup>r</sup> counsell's books after o<sup>r</sup> L. L., who was then at Dover ready to go as an imbasiter into Flaunders, and hee referred us unto Mr. William Lambarde, who tooke a breef out of o<sup>r</sup> booke and certified o<sup>r</sup> L. L. of y<sup>e</sup> wronge we had, whereupon y<sup>e</sup> L. L. called Ste. Shar. and Ed. Bat. unto him requesting them y<sup>t</sup> they wold have patience, and mainteine y<sup>e</sup> watch untill he returned againe out of y<sup>e</sup> Lowe Countries; and then we shold com unto him, and he wold hear o<sup>r</sup> cause, and set an order

hearin; before his retourne y<sup>e</sup> Spanish fleete was com and gon  
 againe, w<sup>ch</sup> was anno 1588, and y<sup>t</sup> year y<sup>e</sup> L. L. discharged  
 this watch at Dengemarshe, and the 7 H. never watched ther  
 since though they wer three tymes since by S<sup>r</sup> T. S. comanded  
 to do that service at Dengemarshe, as it shall appear more  
 plainly hereafter. Y<sup>t</sup> year y<sup>e</sup> L. L. appointed Mr. William  
 Lambarde and Mr. Humfery Windam to have y<sup>e</sup> hearinge of  
 y<sup>e</sup> controversie between y<sup>e</sup> 7 H. and y<sup>e</sup> men of Lydd and to  
 signify unto him what their opinion was in y<sup>t</sup> matter, and when  
 they hadd seen the allegations of other side they gave in their  
 opinion unto o<sup>r</sup> L. L. y<sup>t</sup> it was fitt that y<sup>e</sup> controverse betweene  
 y<sup>e</sup> 7 H. and y<sup>e</sup> men of Lydd shold be tried by a jurie of y<sup>e</sup>  
 common lawe, but y<sup>e</sup> men of Lydd refused it and wold not  
 agree to have a tryall at y<sup>e</sup> common lawe. Upon this refusall  
 Mr. Roberts caused a Petition to be drawne w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> cheefe men's  
 hands of ye 7 H. unto y<sup>e</sup> L. L. to this effect, y<sup>t</sup> it wold please  
 him to set downe some matter under his hand and seale y<sup>t</sup> he  
 did not comand us by any right in Lawe, but only by virtue  
 of his Lieutenantship wherat he stayed, and wrote his letter  
 unto S<sup>r</sup> T. S. to this effecte y<sup>t</sup> they of Lydd be presently re-  
 quired to show some beter canse ether by matter of prescrip-  
 tion or of lawe for the right of y<sup>e</sup> saide watche then yet hath  
 appeared unto him or els . . . . in equity yeld to their said re-  
 queste, the copy of w<sup>ch</sup> leter is more at large to be seene—this  
 was anno 1589. This somer by reason of some sturres upon y<sup>e</sup>  
 narrow sease w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> leaguers shippes watches were commanded  
 to be kept, and S<sup>r</sup> T. S. sent straight commandement unto S<sup>r</sup>  
 Richard Baker and Mr. Roberts y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> 7 H. shold watch at  
 Dengemarshe w<sup>th</sup> 12 men, and S<sup>r</sup> R. B. made his warrants unto  
 y<sup>e</sup> constables of y<sup>e</sup> 7 H. and wold have had Mr. Roberts set to  
 his hand to the saied warrant but Mr. Roberts refused, and so  
 y<sup>e</sup> constables and ye 7 H. refused to do y<sup>t</sup> service because S<sup>r</sup>  
 T. S. and y<sup>e</sup> men of Lydd refused tryall of lawe. And then  
 S<sup>r</sup> T. S. went to y<sup>e</sup> L. L. and complained y<sup>e</sup> 7 H. because they  
 refused to watche. But y<sup>e</sup> L. L. said unto him y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> 7 H. wer  
 willinge to watch at his commandment by vertue of his Lieu-  
 tenantship, but now he saw no cause to command them to y<sup>t</sup>  
 service, whereupon S<sup>r</sup> T. S. wold have had an other day of  
 meetinge at Asheforde, and sent for Mr. Roberts to meet w<sup>th</sup>  
 him at S<sup>r</sup> R. Bakers to y<sup>t</sup> effect: but Mr. Roberts went not,  
 whereupon S<sup>r</sup> T. Scot willed y<sup>e</sup> counstable of Cranbrooke to

speake to Step. Shar. and Ed. Bat. to meet w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Lydd men before him at Ashetiforde upon a daye assigned but they refused to com, and then he sent to charge y<sup>e</sup> 7 H. to watch at Den. by vertine of his lieutenantie but the 7 H. wold not, wherupon he wrote his leter to some of y<sup>e</sup> Lords of y<sup>e</sup> Councell, in which leter he complained y<sup>t</sup> the watches about Rumpney marshe were not kept, and further he desired in his leter y<sup>t</sup> those men might come before their lordshipes to shew y<sup>e</sup> cause why they refused to watche. To this effect y<sup>e</sup> Lords of y<sup>e</sup> Councell wrote to o<sup>r</sup> L. L.; and so by this means y<sup>e</sup> cause was wrested from y<sup>e</sup> L. L. to be heard before y<sup>e</sup> Lords of y<sup>e</sup> Councell, and by reason whereof Mr. Roberts was informed to intreat Mr. Doctor Giles Fletcher to deale for y<sup>e</sup> 7 H. y<sup>t</sup> was of credit amonst y<sup>e</sup> Lords of y<sup>e</sup> Councell and to follow there cause before them whereupon ther was diver petitions drawne by o<sup>r</sup> learned counsell w<sup>th</sup> certeine briefes also of o<sup>r</sup> cause to be delivered some at y<sup>e</sup> counsell tables and som to severall Lords of y<sup>e</sup> Councell, and upon this o<sup>r</sup> sute y<sup>e</sup> Lords wrote their leter, unto y<sup>e</sup> Queene's Attorney, and her Soliciter y<sup>t</sup> they shold apointe a day y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> 7 H. and y<sup>e</sup> men of Lydd shold com w<sup>th</sup> their counsell on ether side and when they had hearde y<sup>e</sup> cause they shold certify y<sup>e</sup> Lords whether y<sup>e</sup> 7 H. ought to doe y<sup>t</sup> service by lawe or not they apointed two days to hear y<sup>e</sup> cause; but y<sup>e</sup> men of Lydd escused themselves, and said their warneinge was to shorte, and did not appear. And so y<sup>e</sup> Attorney and y<sup>e</sup> Soliciter certified y<sup>e</sup> Lords of y<sup>e</sup> Councell, and then y<sup>e</sup> Councell was about to set downe an order against y<sup>e</sup> men of Lydd but y<sup>e</sup> Lord Cobham being o<sup>r</sup> L. L. and one of y<sup>e</sup> Councell desired y<sup>e</sup> rest of y<sup>e</sup> Lords y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> men of Lydd first be heard what they cold say against y<sup>e</sup> 7 H. for he saide he wold send them worde of y<sup>e</sup> proceedinge against them and hearupon y<sup>e</sup> men of Lydd became earnest suters at y<sup>e</sup> counsell table, and when Mr. Roberts heard of their suit he sent Edward Batcocke to London to learne how they pceeded there against y<sup>e</sup> 7 H. and so whilst Ed. Bat: was ther they had procured out y<sup>e</sup> Lords leter as wee had don before unto y<sup>e</sup> Attorney and y<sup>e</sup> Soliciter and Edw: Bat: watching therein met w<sup>th</sup> them at y<sup>e</sup> Attorneys house when they delivered y<sup>e</sup> Lords letter unto y<sup>e</sup> Attorney, and y<sup>e</sup> So: and urged y<sup>e</sup> men of Lydd refused, and said they wer not provided, and then Ed. Bat: desired y<sup>e</sup> At: and y<sup>e</sup> So: y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> L. L. might opointe y<sup>e</sup> day of hearing and hearuppon y<sup>e</sup> At: and y<sup>e</sup>



Soli: willed us to go together unto y<sup>e</sup> L. L. and so one did, and y<sup>e</sup> L. L. appointed y<sup>e</sup> second daye after for y<sup>e</sup> day of hearing, and soe y<sup>e</sup> mater being heard y<sup>e</sup> men of Lydd fained they had beter proofes and saide y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> L. L. had granted an other tyme to bring theirin, and soe upon this y<sup>t</sup> day of hearinge tooke not his effect. And after by y<sup>e</sup> sute of y<sup>e</sup> 7. H. an other day was opointed by y<sup>e</sup> At: and y<sup>e</sup> Soli: for y<sup>e</sup> hearinge of y<sup>e</sup> matter w<sup>ch</sup> was 1590, a litle before Eustide: After y<sup>e</sup> daye of hearing many motions were made by Doctor Fletcher and Edward Bat: whoe gave atendance upon them for their certifiacte to y<sup>e</sup> Lords of y<sup>e</sup> Councell but still we were delayed by reason of perusinge of y<sup>e</sup> writings and examinations of S<sup>r</sup> John Parst and others about y<sup>e</sup> Irishe maters but now this somner 1591 there came a leter from y<sup>e</sup> lorde of y<sup>e</sup> Councell to y<sup>e</sup> Lord Cobham y<sup>e</sup> L. L. y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Spanishe fleete was com upon y<sup>e</sup> Coast of Britaine, and for feare of some danger upon this sea coast watches and beacons were comanded to be set up: and hearupon S<sup>r</sup> T. S. and S<sup>r</sup> Tho: Sands debity Lieutennants unto y<sup>e</sup> L. Cobham their leter to S<sup>r</sup> Rich: Baker and Mr. Thomas Roberts Esquier to have this watche at Dengmarshe renewed againe, but Mr. Roberts and y<sup>e</sup> 7 H. refused to watche there, hear remaineth ther leter to be seen w<sup>th</sup> their hands to it. Then Mr. Roberts sent Edw: Bat: w<sup>th</sup> their leter to shew him unto y<sup>e</sup> At: and y<sup>e</sup> So: y<sup>t</sup> they might see y<sup>e</sup> necessitye of o<sup>r</sup> sute, and so this year upon S<sup>t</sup> Peter's daye y<sup>e</sup> So: did drawe y<sup>e</sup> certifiacte to this effect y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> mater shold be tried at y<sup>e</sup> common lawe by an indifferent jury of this county but before their hands cold be goten to this certifiacte, and soe to be retourned to y<sup>e</sup> Lords of the Councell. Accordinge to their foresaide leter directed from them to y<sup>e</sup> At: and y<sup>e</sup> Solici: the men of Lydd came to y<sup>e</sup> Quarter Sessions holden Canterbury at S<sup>t</sup> James tide this year, and brought their learned councell and prefered to y<sup>e</sup> Lord Chief Baron and to y<sup>e</sup> Justice siting there 7 billes of inditment upon y<sup>e</sup> statute of watches 3 of Henry 4 w<sup>ch</sup> bills wer then put in to y<sup>e</sup> Grand Jurye by y<sup>e</sup> men of Lydd, and y<sup>t</sup> Judge beinge sworne yet refused to finde their billes. Alsoe 1592 watches were comanded to be kept, and on Mr. Rooke, scent n<sup>r</sup> sent his p<sup>re</sup>pt to y<sup>e</sup> counstables of y<sup>e</sup> 7 H. to have y<sup>e</sup> watch at Dengmarshe performed, but y<sup>e</sup> counstables and y<sup>e</sup> 7 H. refused to doe y<sup>t</sup> service their.

*The Defence of the 7 Hundreds against the Men of Lydd touching the charge of a sea watch which they suppose shold be maintained by the 7 Hundreds at Dengemersh by 12 men.*

First the Inhabitants of Lydd seake to grownd this charge of the watch and ward to be kept at Dengemersh upon the statute of 5 H. 4. cap. 3, viz. that the watch to be made upon the sea coast through the Realme, shall be made by the number of the people, in the places and in maner and forme as they were wont to be made. And that in the same case the statute of Winchester be holden and kept, etc. And power is given to the Justices of Peace to enquire herof in their Sessions, etc.

For answer wherunto the 7 Hundreds doo alledge that these reasons following this stat. doth not bind them.

First the proofes w<sup>ch</sup> they doo produce are papers only, and w<sup>th</sup>out date and doo lie dispersed in divers places, some in the keping of S<sup>r</sup> Tho. Scott, and others in their own, an others in the Monkes' booke of Rochester being written in a spare leafe, at the latter end of the same booke, and may for that cause be thought rather to be some tale or heresaie than otherwise.

Besides their proofes doo not agree neither in the number of watchmen that shold watch nor in the places therein mentioned, for Rochester booke saieth that 9 men shold watch at Hoo. S<sup>r</sup> Tho: Scott's booke speaketh not of this place.

Rochester booke saieth there shold bee 33 at Sheppey, their papers and S<sup>r</sup> Tho: Scott's doo not mention that watching place.

Rochester booke saieth at Caule 3 men, their papers saie 4.

Rochester booke saieth at Graistone 12 men, their papers make no mention therof.

Rochester booke saieth at Elmes 6 men, their papers saie 9 men.

Rochester booke saieth at Broadhull 6 men, their papers saie 9 men.

Rochester booke saieth at Seabroke 12 men, their papers saie 13 men.

Rochester booke saieth at Sandgate 6 men, their papers saie 9 men.

And as these their proofes doo differ amongst themselves, so doo they varye from the Records of the Tower of London.

For wheras there came forth a writt in 8 H. 4 that the Hundreds of Larkefeld, Filborough, Sneate, Newchurch, and Worth shold watch at Broadhull now called Dymchurch. Rochester booke and their papers doo not agree w<sup>th</sup> that auntient writt, but have left out Larkefield and Filborough, and have put in Heane and Hame.

Another auntient writt came forth 41 H. 3 comandig 6 men and a constable out of the hundred of Stowtinge to watch at Sandgate, but one of their papers saie 2 men, and the other saieth one man out of the hundred of Stowtinge.

Besides the men of Lydd can not prove that at the tyme of the makinge of the saied statute of 5 of H. 4, or at any tyme before the 7 Hundreds were usually charged w<sup>th</sup> the watch at Dengemershe.

And it is apparent that by the space of fortie yers before the Statute of 5 H. 4 the 7 Hundreds were charged w<sup>th</sup> the maintenance of 6 Beacons w<sup>th</sup>in the 7 Hundreds to be watched by them of the 7 Hundreds by men\* apointed for that purpose w<sup>ch</sup> Beacons doo watch upon the Beacon of Farleigh standing upon the sea coast in Sussex, and were not charged w<sup>th</sup> any other watch during that tyme w<sup>ch</sup> 6 Beacons watches continue untill this daie, and were commanded to be sett up in the last yere of the Raigne of Edward the 2 by the advise of the Spencers. And were established by commission in the tyme of Edward the 3, directed into all the shires of England lying by the sea coast for the maintenance of Beacon watches, as by the Records therof remayning in the tower of London may appere.

And for the writt of 8<sup>o</sup> H. 4 shewed forth by those of Lydd the same may seeme a good prooffe that no such watch was at that tyme kept by the 7 hundreds at Dengemersh, for y<sup>t</sup> there had any such watch ben then in use it had ben in vayne to have procured any such writt, It being in the power of the Justices of the peace by the saied statute of 5 H. 4 to have geven remedie in that case according to the purverser of the saied statute.

Besides the saied writt is contrary to Rochester booke, and all the other papers, and therefore overthroweth them: for they affirme that the watch shold be kept at Dengemersh, being al-

\* W<sup>th</sup> eighteen persons apointed for y<sup>t</sup> purpose.

most 2 myles from Lydd, and that by 12 men. And the writt saieth there shold be in Lydd towne two wards the one called the great the other the little ward, and that is to be done by daie and not by night.

And it resteth upon the men of Lydd to prove the execution of this writt, and that the service was accordingly performed by the 7 Hundreds which the 7 Hundreds are assured they can never doo: and then the saied writt maketh for the 7 Hundreds against the men of Lydd.

By all w<sup>ch</sup> it may appere how their paper proofes contradict one another both for the number of watchmen and the places where the saied watches are to be kept as also howe those proofes doo differ from those auntient Records of the Tower so that it may seme very probable that the saied writt of 8 H. 4 for warding was procured by them of Lydd, and that they have not any Records remayning amongst them but a writt of 29 H. 6 and the Sherife warrant upon the same writt directed to the constable of the 7 Hundreds, but only in an old booke of theirs, neither can they prove that the saied service at Dengemersh was borne by the 7 Hundreds at any tyme but only in the yeere 1588 w<sup>ch</sup> was done by the commandment of William Lord Cobham the Lord Leiuetenant of the countie of Kent.

It is also to be remembered that the said 4 watching places, Holmes Broadhull Shornclyff and Sandgate have 19 Hundreds assigned to watch there, and that 2 of the saied Hundreds have in them in parte and in all 30 parishes. And that those 4 watching places doo stand in 3 of those 19 Hundreds, viz. Holmes standeth in the hundred of Longeport Broadhull and Shornclyff in the hundred of Worth, and Sandgate in the hundred of Folkstone and that the residue of the saied 19 Hundreds adioyne to those 3 hundreds one by an other, having in the saied 19 Hundreds but 3 Beacons, and yet they are discharged from watching at those Beacons. Wheras the 7 Hundreds having in them 6 Beacons to be watched by them, have in them no more parishes in all and in part but 17 and that one of the said 7 hundreds, viz. Great Barnfield hath in it little above the halfe of one parish viz. Hawkehurst parish. And that betwene the nerest parte of the 7 Hundreds to Dengemersh there doo lye two hundreds viz. Langeport and Aloesbridge w<sup>ch</sup> 2 hundreds have in them 12 parishes.

Now to prove that these 6 Beacons standing rownd together in the 7 hundreds, are of great use, and can not be spared.

First by veiwe of the plott of the saied Beacons it will appeare that those 6 Beacons in the 7 hundreds doo all stand on the sowth side of Kent against the midst and broadest parte of the shire and doo take their light from Fareleigh Beacon in Sussex, w<sup>ch</sup> Beacon hath veiwe of all the Beacons on the Downs betweene Lewes in Sussex and Dover in Kent. And that the saied 6 Beacons doo geive light to 4 other Speciall Beacons of Kent viz. Westwell, Coxhoth, Ightam, and Birlinge, and that for these reasons as it semeth the saied Comissioners that were appointed in Edw: 3 tyme for the establishing of Beacons had a speciall care to provide so many Beacons in the 7 Hundreds: considering w<sup>ch</sup> all that all those 6 Beacons in the 7 Hundreds standing in lowe grownds and being very wooddye and full of trees, might more easely be diserned and geive light to the other 4 Beacons at Westwell, Coxhoth, Ightam, and Birlinge then y<sup>t</sup> there had ben but one, two, or three in the 7 Hundreds. And the saied comissioners did likewise find, that a smaler number of Beacons were sufficient for the other 19 Hundreds.

So that the 6 Beacons being established by commission in Edw: the 3 tyme as the rest of the Beacons of the Shire were, the statute of 8 H. 4 fo<sup>r</sup> watches to be made upon the sea coast through<sup>t</sup> the Realme, etc., may be entended to provide for the due keping of these Beacon watches since no prooffe can be made by the men of Lydd of any other watch, but only in the tyme of E. 3 w<sup>ch</sup> was before the commission for establishing of Beacons were directed forth as aforesaid. Between which and the making of the statute of 8 H. 4 was almost 40 yere, in w<sup>ch</sup> space no prooffe can be made of the watch kept at Dengemersh by the 7 hundreds and therefore no cause why the saied 7 Hundreds shall be charged therw<sup>th</sup> upon the statute of 5 H. 4.

Neither can the men of Lydd prove the execution of those 2 writts, the 8 H. 4 the other in 29 H. 6. Nor can those of Lydd prove that ever the saied watch was kept at Dengemersh by the 7 Hundreds since 5 H. 4. But only in the yeare 1585 w<sup>ch</sup> was done by the absolute comand of William Lord Cobham the Lorde Leiuetenant of the countie of Kent.

[The following Notes are from a smaller MS.]

And further it is objected by y<sup>e</sup> men of Lydd, y<sup>t</sup> Anno 29 H. 6 watches were comanded by y<sup>e</sup> kings write in certaine places of this shire by name at Bromhill w<sup>ch</sup> layeth in Sussex, and not in Kent, and Dengemarshe, and in generall words at all other places ther lying upon y<sup>e</sup> sea whear sea watches had been wont, and of right to be kept to y<sup>e</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> y<sup>e</sup> said inhabitants saye y<sup>t</sup> this is noe true write w<sup>ch</sup> if y<sup>e</sup> write had been true it wold have been found in y<sup>e</sup> rowle in y<sup>e</sup> tower as well as all other writs w<sup>ch</sup> wer y<sup>t</sup> year directed to the inhabitants of this county, and then is y<sup>e</sup> Sherife's warrant utterly false w<sup>ch</sup> if the write had been true, yet y<sup>e</sup> men of Lydd must prove y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> write was executed and done by y<sup>e</sup> Seaven Hundreds accordinglye or otherwise this write is a good prooffe for y<sup>e</sup> Seaven Hundreds against y<sup>e</sup> men of Lydd. It is further objected by y<sup>e</sup> men of Lydd y<sup>t</sup> if the Seaven Hundreds doe refuse to watch at Dengmarshe or contribute to y<sup>e</sup> same then all y<sup>e</sup> other watches kept along y<sup>e</sup> sea coast betweene Rye and Dover will refuse also w<sup>ch</sup> they say is 56 men.

A false write  
and a false  
warrant upon  
ye write.

This is a false objection, and easily proved not to be true. Ffirst their Rochester booke saith y<sup>e</sup> number is but 45 men. Marden and Milton did refuse, and watched not at Cawle, w<sup>ch</sup> is on of y<sup>e</sup> 6 watching places between Rye and Dover, y<sup>e</sup> other 4 watchinge places mentioned in their papyrs y<sup>t</sup> is to saye Elmes 1, Deemchurche 2, Shone Cliffe 3, Sandgate 4. These hundreds have accostomablye done their service there haveinge no other beacons watch but only this, and so are bound by lawe and cannot refuse, and y<sup>e</sup> most of y<sup>t</sup> hundreds doe ioyne one to an other to y<sup>e</sup> watchinge places. And also Rochester booke speaketh of 3 other watchinge places y<sup>t</sup> is to saye 9 men at Hoo, 33 at Shepey, 12 at Graystone w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> names of every hundred these places wer not watched one by those hundreds when y<sup>e</sup> tyme of service was.

Here their  
owne proofes  
prove them-  
selve lyars.

These H : are  
by lawe com-  
peled to serve.

To conclude it doth evidently appear by these their paper proofes, and their contradictions on w<sup>th</sup> an other for y<sup>e</sup> number of the watchmen in each place where their watches shold be mainteyned as they say, and also how they differ, and disagree

w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> ancient and true records y<sup>t</sup> hath been taken out of y<sup>e</sup> tower as is above to bee seen, and how they have procured y<sup>e</sup> write of Henry 4 for warding nether have they remayninge any records amongst themselves but y<sup>t</sup> saied write 22 H. 6 and y<sup>e</sup> Sherife's warrant upon y<sup>t</sup> write to y<sup>e</sup> counstable of y<sup>e</sup> Seaven Hundreds w<sup>ch</sup> write cannot be found amonst no ancient records, but in an old booke of theirs nor yet at any tyme prove y<sup>e</sup> execution of this service to be done by y<sup>e</sup> 7 hu: but only this service y<sup>t</sup> was done of late 1585 by o<sup>r</sup> Lorde Lieutennant's comandement.

Seeing that the men of Lydd doe refuse to bring the con-  
troverse to be tryed at the common lawe, as the Queene's  
Attorney and the Queene's Soliziter hath certifyed to the  
Lordes of the Councell. And also Mr. Lambard and Mr.  
Windham hath certified the lyke unto the Lord Cobham o<sup>r</sup>  
Lord Lieutenant. Therfor it is to be doubted by reason of  
the service that we have done that they will in tyme to come  
make means to the Lordes of Counsell or to the L. L. of the  
Shire that then shal be to compell us to doe that service  
again. Therfor it is thought good by Mr. Thomas Scott, Es-  
quire, (who hath the keeping of all those bookes and letters  
w<sup>ch</sup> are mensioned hear in this booke) that if at any tyme hear-  
after the men of Lydd bring it in question, that the Seaven  
Hundreds may know whear to have all o<sup>r</sup> alleagations and  
proofes w<sup>ch</sup> hath been heartofore shewed, that they maye be  
ready w<sup>thout</sup> any further chardge to ioine w<sup>th</sup> the men of Lydd  
in the tryall of this cause.

*A true Coppy of y<sup>e</sup> Muncke's Booke of Rochester for the smale  
watches upon y<sup>e</sup> Sea Coast.*

Hundredum de Hoo, 9 homines ad vigilandum Layenlede,  
viz: de Hundredo Hoo 2, de Malling 1, de Shomell 3, de Dart-  
ford 1.

Vigila de Shapeia.

Juxta Feversham freri de 33 homines unde de Milton  
et Marden xxv., de Boctonna 3, de Feversham 5.

Apud Dengemersh per 12, unde de 7 hundredis.

Apud Cawle per 3 homines unde de Milton et Marden.

Apud Greiston per 12 homines unde de Whitestable 1, de

Glengat 3, de Kinghamford 2, de Westgate 2, de Dunhamford 2, de Brugg 2.

Apud Elmes per 6 homines unde de St. Martino 2, de Oxneia 1, de Aleswestbridge 2, de Langeport 1.

Apud Broadhull als Deemchurche 6 homines, unde de Sterte et Worthe 4, de Newchurch 1, de Ham 2, de Hear 1.

Apud Seabrooke per 22 homines unde de Langbridg et Charte 3, de Calehill 3, de Bircholt 1, de Wye 5.

Apud Sangate per 6 homines unde de Foltstone 4, de Noningbregh 1, Stouting 1.

*A true Coppy of Sr Thomas Scots papers and other gentlemen, w<sup>ch</sup> the men of Lydd have shewed from them.*

First they say at Dengeneste by 11 men out of the seven hundreds.

At the Helmes by 9 men, the hundred of St. Marline's 2, the hundred of Oxneie 2, the hundred of Allowesbridg 2, the half hundred of Langport 2, the hundred of Ham 1 man.

At Broadhull als Deemchurche 9 men, the hundred of Streat 2, y<sup>e</sup> hundred of Worth 2, y<sup>e</sup> H. of Newchurch 2, the hundred of Filborn 3.

At Seabrooke als Shorneclieft 13 men, y<sup>e</sup> hundred of Heane 2, y<sup>e</sup> hundred of Langbridge and Charte 3, y<sup>e</sup> hundred of Calehill 3, y<sup>e</sup> hundred of Byrcheould 1, and y<sup>e</sup> hundred of Wye 5.

At Sandgat by 9 men, y<sup>e</sup> hundred of Foltstone 4, y<sup>e</sup> hundred of Lovinbroughe 2, of Stoutinge 2, of Pelham 2.

At Cawle by 4 men of y<sup>e</sup> hundred of Milton and Marden.

#### NOTES ON RUCKINGE CHURCH, BY THE REV. EDWARD MURIEL, RECTOR.

This Church, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, consists of a Nave, North and South Aisles, Chancel, South Chantry and Western Tower. The Nave is divided from each aisle by three Decorated arches, supported on octagonal pillars, the capitals and bases of which are of the same design. There are three windows in each aisle, each of two lights with trefoil



heads; that at the east end of the north aisle has however three lights, and contains some remains of ancient glass, having in one of the quatrefoils the mutilated figure of St. Michael vanquishing Satan. The door in this aisle is Decorated and has a porch with remains of a good carved barge-board. In the south aisle is a fine Norman door.

The Chancel Arch is Decorated, and is supported on the south side by an octagonal Perpendicular pillar, which has evidently been put in at a later date, the arches having been altered to accommodate it. From the same pillar spring two other arches, one between the chancel and chantry, the other at the east end of the south aisle; the latter is small but massive, and springs on its southern side from a Norman impost. The Chancel is lighted on the north side by two lancets with cinque-foil heads. The east windows of both chancel and chantry are Decorated, and of design resembling each other, though the latter, which has been recently re-opened, is the more elegant; each has three lights like those in the aisles at Warehorne Church, with drip-stones of the roll moulding terminating in scrolls and heads. The Chantry is lighted on the south side by two geometrical windows of two lights each, and its south wall contains a small trefoil-headed piscina with stone shelf. Some good Perpendicular screen-work of three different designs is still preserved, inserted by a late Rector in the front of a new seat in the chancel, and another portion, bearing traces of blue and yellow colour, remains in its original position between the south aisle and the chantry. In the Chancel is an ancient oak seat, returning at the west end, which has on each side a standard terminating in a poppy-head of simple early character. There is also a fine Elizabethan Communion-table with bulge legs and a moveable top.

The Tower is the most ancient part of the church, being originally Norman, with alterations at later periods; its walls are nearly six feet thick, and have a fine Norman door in the west side with a late Perpendicular one inserted to reduce the size, and single lanoets piercing the sides of the tower. In the bell-chamber Perpendicular windows of one light have been inserted, one on each side of each lancet, making three openings on each side in this storey. The tower is covered with a square pyramidal roof of shingle, but repaired with tiles, which is again surmounted by a small octagonal spire covered with lead.

There are unmistakable marks of fire on the stone-work in various parts of the arches and tower; and the roofs, which are late, were undoubtedly added after this fire, of which, however, no account has been discovered.

The internal dimensions of the various parts of the Church are as follows :—

|                 | ft. | in. |   | ft. | in. |
|-----------------|-----|-----|---|-----|-----|
| Nave . . .      | 54  | 0   | × | 35  | 0   |
| North Aisle . . | 54  | 0   | × | 8   | 2   |
| South Aisle . . | 54  | 0   | × | 8   | 2   |
| Chancel . .     | 35  | 8   | × | 29  | 0   |
| Chantry . .     | 35  | 8   | × | 29  | 0   |
| Tower . . .     | 14  | 9   | × | 14  | 9   |

There are five bells in the tower, with the following inscriptions :—

1. "Peter Wadel, Richard Lonkhurst. I. Lester made me 1740"  
—with a shield containing apparently an inverted chevron.
2. "Samuel Knight 1721."
3. "John Waylett fecit me 1721."
4. "John Waylett fecit me 1721."
5. No inscription, but the date "1721."

List of Rectors from 1288 to 1870 (compiled from Ducarel's Abstract of Lambeth Registers, and the Parish Registers) :—

1288. Oct. 14. JOHN DE CAMPIS, Subdeacon.  
RICHARD VAGHAN, LL.D., resigned 1351, on  
his appointment to St. Alphage, Canterbury.
1351. Oct. 4. ROBERT LUKE.
1352. Aug. 8. THOMAS DE OTTEFORD.  
THOMAS DE TETFORD, Presbyter, resigned.
1361. Nov. 9. JOHN DE BARTON, who exchanged with
1371. Dec. 7. THOMAS DUFFIELD, of Medeham, dio. Lincoln.
1393. April 21. NICHOLAS BAUME *alias* ROGERS.  
DAVID BAGGATOR.
1404. Jan. 18. ALAN HUMBLETON.  
WILLIAM ELDYNGTON.

1408. Nov. 1. ROBERT COLLEGO.  
WILLIAM THREDERE.
1416. April 26. JOHN TURNOUR, resigned.
1417. Feb. 11. RICHARD HOTALL, who exchanged with
1419. Nov. 8. WILLIAM LOWE, Rector of Kylkombe.
1428. March 5. JOHN WRABY.
1431. Feb. 12. THOMAS MOOME, resigned.
1446. Jan. 21. RICHARD ROFFIN.
1456. June 21. JOHN CHADDILBORTH, who exchanged with  
ROBERT DOLYKE, Vicar of Aldenham, dio.  
Lincoln.
1473. May 26. ROBERT STURDY, resigned.
1474. July 25. THOMAS COPLAND.  
WILLIAM CHAMMELEB, resigned.
1486. Jan. 13. WILLIAM SMYTH.
1489. Nov. 10. JOHN HAWKYNs, M.A., resigned.
1493. Oct. 20. RICHARD HUDSON.
1522. April 31. JOHN STODARD.
1530. Dec. 22. GEORGE MOLTON, LL.B., resigned.
1532. July 1. JOHN PORTER.
1533. July 1. HENRY GODFREY.
1546. June 6. JOHN BOY.
1571. Jan. 2. MATTHEW ALTON, resigned.
1573. Oct. 1. THOMAS GODWYN, resigned.
1580. Dec. 10. FRANCIS THERFOYDS.
1582. March 14. WILLIAM ASHBOLD.
1587. Sept. 2. RICHARD MATTHEW, M.A.
1600. Feb. 25. JOHN FULNETHBYE, B.D., resigned.
1608. May 25. ALEXANDER RAWLYNS, M.A., resigned.
1610. April 11. FRANCIS FOXTON, resigned.
1613. Feb. 12. WILLIAM MASTERS, resigned in favour of his son,
1627. Nov. 17. WILLIAM MASTERS, M.A., buried 1639, March  
17.
1639. \*THOMAS TAYLOR, buried 1652, Jan. 25.

\* In "Proceedings in Kent, 1640," a work edited by our late learned Secretary, the Rev. Lambert B. Larking, for the Camden Society, is a curious petition to the House of Commons from the parishioners of Ruckinge, having reference to the population of the parish at that time, and complaining of the establishment of paupers in the farm-houses by the non-resident farmers, who were "not able to give releife but to receave, and not able to contribute eyther to Church

1656. FRANCIS CRASE.
1686. Nov. 26. JOHN LODGE, A.M., St. John's Coll., Cambridge.
1705. April 12. THOMAS BRETT, LL.D.; also Rector of Betteshanger, deprived in 1716 for not taking the oaths.
1716. July 18. FRANCIS MURIELL, M.A.; also Vicar of Debtling. He died July 5, 1750, and was buried in the South Chapel, All Saints' Church, Maidstone, where his Monument, with that of his wife, remains.
1750. Nov. 17. JUDE HOLDSWORTH, also Vicar of Tong.
1760. April 7. THOMAS WRAY, M.A.; also Vicar of Great Chart. Resigned, 1761.
1761. March 19. BEILBY PORTEUS, D.D., afterwards Rector of St. Michael, Harbledown, and one of the Six Preachers of Canterbury Cathedral. In 1765 he held the Rectory of Hunton: was made Rector of Lambeth in 1767; Bishop of Chester in 1776; and Bishop of London in 1787; he died in 1808.
1767. Oct. 20. JOHN JENKINSON, M.A., also Rector of Gillingham.
1780. Nov. 9. HOPKINS FOX, also Rector of Linsted.
1794. EDWARD TAYLOR, M.A., also Rector of Patricksbourne.
1807. \*DANIEL JOANES.
1823. PATRICK KEITH.
1840. AMBROSE SMITH, resigned.
1853. CHARLES G. T. BARLOW, M.A., resigned on his institution to the Rectory of Stanmercum-Falmer, Sussex.

or poore, or to find armes to serve his Majestie." We find also from this, that "the value of the said Parsonage of Buckinge is reputed to be worth cxx<sup>l</sup> per annum at the least."

\* Mr. Joanes lived in a very penurious way for many years, for the purpose of re-purchasing his father's estate in Wales. In his old age he was enabled to do so; but going there to take possession, and occupying, on the night of his arrival, the very bed in which he was born, was found dead in it the next morning. The Rev. G. R. Gleig's novel, "The Country Curate," is founded on this story.

1858. WILLIAM BROWN STAVELEY, M.A., of Catherine Hall, Cambridge, resigned on his collation to the Rectory of High Halden.
1861. Jan. 17. EDWARD MORLEY MURIEL, M.A., of Gonville and Caius Coll. Cambridge, present Rector.



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